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(a) THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD (CLEANED) SEEN WITH THE BRITISH MUSEUM HEAD (BEFORE CLEANING)



(b) FRONT VIEW OF THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD BEFORE CLEANING
Height: 14.5 inches



(c) and (d) RIGHT PROFILE OF THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD, BEFORE (LEFT) AND AFTER CLEANING

Note that thorough cleaning has not removed the accretions about the headdress and its crest. The fracture behind the right ear can be clearly seen, and above it the corroded point of one of the inset iron nails

THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD OF IFE, NIGERIA

SHI RAM MANOHAR LAL

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Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (b, c, d) and by Bernard Faga (a)



THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD: DETAIL OF LEFT PROFILE, AFTER CLEANING

Note the granularity of the surface on the neck, ear and cheek; the accretions of earth, paint or other substances which have been translated into bronze in the reproduction, especially in the ornament of the headdress; the traces of seams from a piece mould in front of and below the ear; two iron nails at the back of the head; the erratic striations behind the ear, with their uninterrupted cast surface; and the position of an embedded iron fragment at extreme lower right. Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

AN EXAMINATION OF THE SO-CALLED 'OLOKUN' HEAD OF IFE, NIGERIA*

by

WILLIAM FAGG AND LEON UNDERWOOD

Introduction

In the bronze head with the history of which we are here concerned first came to public attention, together with a fine series of terra cotta heads in similar style, as a result of the visit to Ife in 1910 of the German Inner African Research Expedition under Dr. Leo Frobenius, who published his finds in his book *Und Afrika Sprach* (1912-3; English edition, *The Voice of Africa*, 1913), and elsewhere. This was not, however, our first knowledge of the antiquities of Ife; the well-known quartzite sacrificial stool or altar, of superb craftsmanship (*British Museum Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, p. 246), had been given by the Oni of Ife in 1896 to Sir Gilbert Carter¹ and by him presented to the Trustees of the British Museum; and the face of a terra cotta head as sensitively modelled as any found by Frobenius was already known from a cast of it which had found its way into the British Museum before his finds were made. Photographs of this cast, together with photographs of the 'Olokun' head, were published by Sir Hercules Read in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1911 (Vol. XVIII, pp. 330f.), but unfortunately all that was then, or is now, known of it is the bare fact that the original came from Ife.

Although the Frobenius heads were widely published and aroused great interest, the even finer antiquities which he was not shown, or which were subsequently found there, remained obscure for many years, though they were seen by at least a few Europeans; these included the fine bronze mask supposed to represent the Oni Obalufon II, and a number of terra cotta heads, most of them larger and more refined in treatment than those of Frobenius.

In 1938, however, and in the course of the next two years, when foundations of a new house were being dug within the precincts of the Old Palace, a further series of bronze heads came to light. The discovery was immediately announced in *MAN* (1938, 201) and elsewhere, photographs and descriptions of several appearing in 1939 in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* (Vol. LXXV, pp. 151-5) by Mr. and Mrs. H. V. Meyerowitz.² The war intervened to frustrate the public interest which had been aroused, but in 1946 Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, Keeper of Ethnography in the British Museum, visited Ife during a survey of museum needs in West Africa for the Colonial Office and suggested to the Oni that the seventeen bronzes should be sent to England for necessary treatment and brief exhibition at the British Museum. The Oni gladly availed himself of the offer and most of the heads were sent to London during 1947³; the 'Olokun' head and the 'Obalufon' mask were, however, not brought over until the Oni visited England

in the summer of 1948. All these heads were returned to Nigeria in October, 1948. We shall not concern ourselves further here, except incidentally, with any but the 'Olokun,' since they are likely to be fully published in the near future; but we think it may be useful for comparative purposes to publish here a photograph of them (omitting two badly damaged heads) as exhibited in the British Museum (fig. 1).

History of the 'Olokun' Head

Most of our knowledge of the vicissitudes through which the 'Olokun' head has passed is derived from *The Voice of Africa*, a perfervid and highly subjective narrative of the Frobenius Expedition, which is also, however, a rich storehouse of knowledge, illuminated on occasion by brilliant flashes of insight, on the ancient culture of West Africa. If only Frobenius could have published the results of the expedition in a more systematically scientific and less polemical manner, there would be a more solid basis of fact for modern Africanists to build upon.

His associates in the expedition were Albrecht Martius, an engineer, and Carl Arriëns, a painter and sculptor. Frobenius says (Vol. I, p. 96): 'I had already heard [in the cities of the Niger bend, French Sudan, in 1908] of the existence of an ancient "statue" of the Olokun. All who had told us of it had consistently declared that it was made of stone, but my informants at Wagadugu were emphatic that it was fashioned in a manner of its own.' After long inquiries at Ife, he was eventually, on the intervention of the Oni, taken by the old priest of Olokun to the Ebolokun or grove dedicated to the deity (where Frobenius had already been excavating terra cottas and other things) and they were met by the priest's son carrying a heavy sack, from which the head was produced. 'Before us,' says Frobenius (p. 98), 'stood a head of marvellous beauty, wonderfully cast in antique bronze, true to the life, incrustured with a patina of glorious dark green.' Later he says (p. 310): 'It measured fourteen and a half inches. . . . It is cast . . . à cire perdue . . . and very finely chased indeed, like the finest Roman examples.' He was told that the head had been originally dug up in the Ebolokun about a generation previously, and was usually kept underground at the place of discovery, sacrifices being made to it at certain festivals.

Frobenius immediately began negotiations to buy the head through his African foreman, Bida, a Togolander, with the priest and a messenger of the Oni, who said, after a preliminary offer of £3 had been made, that 'a fresh copy could be made at the tinsmith's,' but that the price would be £6, 'besides a bottle of spirits and a tumbler.' They wished, however, to unsanctify the head with a sacrifice next day. Next day the priest was missing until

* With Plates A and B and three text figures

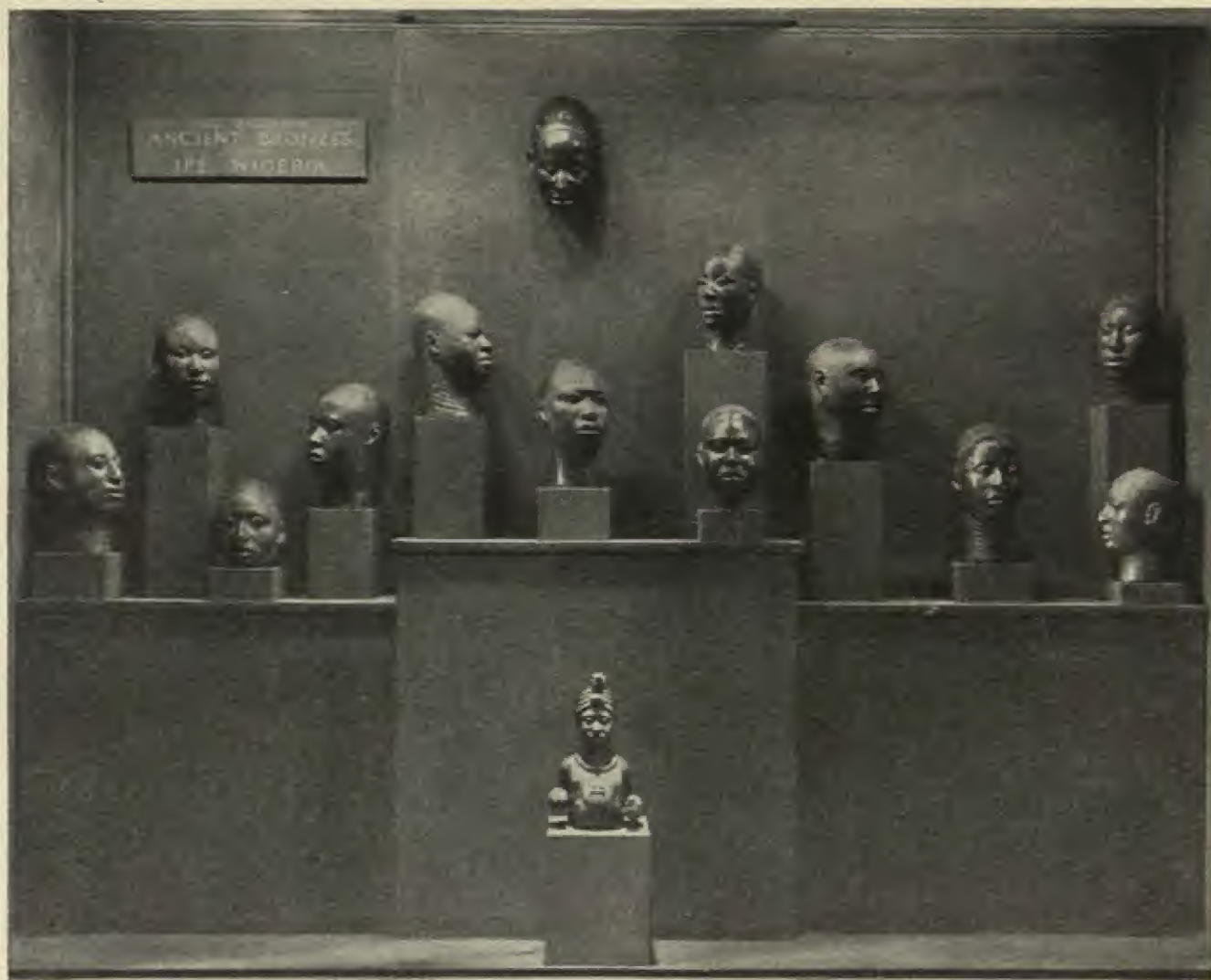


FIG. 1. THE EXHIBITION OF IFE BRONZES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM, JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1948

At the top is the 'Obalufon' mask; the 'Olokun' head and the similar British Museum specimen were separately shown, and two other heads were too badly battered for exhibition. The green patina of the bronzes was set off by a background of hessian distempered in a warm brick-red or terra cotta colour approximating to that of the earth at Ife. The height of the half-figure is 14.4 inches. Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

after nightfall, when Frobenius surprised him at home and induced him to accompany the party to the grove, objecting querulously that he would get into the bad books of the British authorities at Ibadan. 'One of the men began to open the ground at the foot of a banana tree with his mattock. At last the sound of metal struck upon my ears. A careless blow chipped off a piece of Olokun, the only precious part of the image of the god! I was afterwards able to take away from Ibadan' (p. 102). As the priest's sons now expressed some qualms about having sold what they now said belonged to the Oni, Frobenius sought an interview with him, at which:

The Oni . . . agreed that I was to retain the head of the Olokun, but also, in exchange, that he was to have an exact copy of it, to be forwarded through the D.C. of Oshogbo. I explained that a replica undistinguishable from the original could be made and I had a galvanic process of reproduction* in my mind. I specially insisted on the need of a formal agree-

ment . . . to the effect that the original was to be our own and the counterpart the property of the Oni. Bida confessed later on that to save himself a little trouble and to smooth the road of negotiation, he had translated things the other way round.

There now enters upon the scene Mr. Charles Partridge, F.S.A., the author in 1905 of the first anthropological monograph on a people of Southern Nigeria, *Cross River Natives*, and at that time Resident at Ibadan. He was far in advance of his time in his enlightened attitude to the preservation of native antiquities in Nigeria, and indeed it is only very recently that the Nigerian Government has given full effect to his ideas. From his account, as reported by Read in the article mentioned above, 'The objects secured by Frobenius were sacred; they were deposited in the sacred groves of Ife, and the native chiefs and priests had certainly no desire and hardly even the power to part with them.'

Partridge (whose name was excluded from the English version of Frobenius's book, but occurs frequently in the

German) had already warned the people of Ife that they should not part with their antiquities. Frobenius says that though the Oni had often assured him that he had no interest personally in the Olokun, and remained good friends with him throughout, certain elders reported to Partridge that the head had been obtained by violent means, and he then wrote to Frobenius saying that if they had parted with it against their will it should be given back to them. The Frobenius expedition immediately set off for Ede, but was met by Partridge and the police a few miles out and was turned back to Ife. Frobenius was required to surrender the Olokun in exchange for the £6 he had paid, but he successfully hid away some of his best pieces, including the well-known terra-cotta heads. Partridge then held a formal inquiry, with the conduct of which Frobenius was much dissatisfied. Certainly natives were found to depose that the Olokun was taken by force. The baggage was searched and the Oni (according to Frobenius, at Partridge's instigation) claimed a number of the best sculptures. It appeared that there was no law actually in existence against the exportation of antiquities at that time, though Frobenius was told that one was in preparation (such an ordinance was in fact promulgated in 1939⁶); and it is clear that Frobenius felt both legally and morally justified in taking his finds to Germany.

After the inquiry, which took place about Christmas, 1910, he renewed contact with the Oni, in the face of opposition from Partridge, and adds: 'I still had many a pleasant interchange of views with him which I discreetly kept to myself.' The collections were then sent to Germany, while the expedition went to the German Cameroons; Frobenius was back in Lokoja in December, 1911.

In discussing the head on p. 312, Frobenius makes a point which may be of some significance:

One thing more must be said about this head of the Lord of the Sea, *viz.*: When it was exhumed a piece broke off at a corner, and this showed that iron pegs had been inserted in it. These may, of course, have served to hold it together in the process of hollow casting. I would, however, point out, on the other hand, that these brads were set as hair and as hair ornaments in the terra-cotta heads in holes made for that purpose. I therefore establish the fact that I found iron curls in the granite Idena, iron nails on the Oranja toothstone⁷, iron pegs in the Olokun bronze, and iron curls in the terra cottas. That, then, means that in that remote period people used iron as a decorative material!

The photographs of the head with the old priest standing by were published by Read in March, 1911, immediately after the enquiry, and were, we learn, supplied by Partridge. Unfortunately they are by no means clear and no useful comparison can be made with the present head. We may, however, mention that those published by Frobenius—again unsatisfactory photographs with little definition—were taken (against a black background, or the night sky) before the fragment was detached behind the right ear.

We understand that the head remained in the custody of the priests of Olokun until 1934, when it was brought into the Afin or Palace for custody.

Examination of the 'Olokun' Head

In the course of the intensive scrutiny to which all the bronzes were subjected in the Department of Ethnography

after the close of the public exhibition, one of us (Leon Underwood) expressed the conviction that the 'Olokun' head was not an original casting but a reproduction, and gave a number of reasons for his view; he had first recorded his suspicion of the piece in his diary (18/8/45), when he visited Ife during a tour of West Africa. His arguments appeared so cogent that in the course of the ensuing week before the return of the seventeen bronzes to Ife, this head received special attention from the Museum staff and from a number of experts who were invited to give their opinions. Among these, besides Mr. Braunholtz, who took an important part in the examination and discussions, must be particularly mentioned Mr. Herbert Maryon, himself a sculptor and well known for his careful investigations of the techniques of ancient metal work (see for example MAN, 1948, 25 and 43), whose corroborative opinion was of great value to us. Mr. Bernard Fagg, the Government Archaeologist of Nigeria (who is shortly to conduct excavations at Ife), was present throughout the enquiry, contributed largely to the discussions, and is in entire agreement with our findings, and Mr. S. W. Washburn, an expert bronze-founder, who attended, by courtesy of Messrs. P. Wilkinson and Sons, to examine the head, is in full agreement with our main conclusion.

As a result of this exhaustive enquiry, we are fully satisfied that the head is not the original casting, but is an after-cast or facsimile reproduction from an original bronze casting. The pieces of evidence which seem to us decisive are as follows:

(a) The head, contrary to Frobenius's report mentioned above, exhibits no traces of chasing or polishing processes applied after casting (for a significant possible exception see (f) below); in other words the exterior surface is 'as cast,' whereas all the other heads have been very finely chased and polished.

(b) The whole outer surface of the head is characterized by a granularity which is absent in all the other heads and is clearly inconsistent with the wax technique adopted in making them: in this, the fine clay slip with which the wax is first coated allows almost perfect reproduction in bronze of the surface of the wax, and even in the unlikely event of a fine sand being included in the slip, there would certainly be sufficient clay present to act as a 'filler' and eliminate granularity.

(c) Careful examination⁸ of the parallel striations behind the left ear—clearly seen in Plate B—shows that their lower portions were cut in bronze, and not in wax as in the similar striations on the remainder of this head and on all the other heads bearing such striations; the cuts are here noticeably less controlled in direction and in evenness of execution, a fault which can be readily avoided when working in wax. Yet it is certain that these cuts were not made in the present head, for the unchased casting surface is continuous, even in the deepest parts of the furrows. This suggests that the maker of the original, perhaps finding, after casting, that he had made the furrows in the wax too short on the left side as compared with the right, proceeded to lengthen those at the left by incising them in the bronze, with a sharper tool than that used on the wax. (Certain other apparently false cuts, imperfectly joined to those made in the original wax, which appear in front of and below the left ear and behind the right ear, are likely to have arisen at one of the stages of making the reproduction.)

(d) The head is noticeably heavier for its size than the other heads, including the British Museum specimen which it most closely resembles, and this is associated with an extraordinary variation of thickness which is entirely uncharacteristic of *cire*

*perdue*⁹ work; in this process, of which all the other heads are exceptionally fine examples, the internal surface bears a very close relation to the outer surface and the thickness may vary by as little as 1 mm. over the whole face.

(e) Inside the lower border of the neck, extending about one-third way round the circumference at the front and reaching about half an inch up the inner surface of the neck, is an area of heavy chiselling, quite clearly carried out in this specimen after casting, which has had the effect of reducing the thickness at this point to the thickness as cast of the remainder of the circumference, whereas the thickness above the chiselling is more than twice as great. The maker of the original head would have had no reason to apply this drastic method of correction; it is clear that all the bronze heads were intended to be affixed, by iron nails passing through holes cast in their necks, to necks, pedestals or posts of wood, clay, or some other material into which nails could be driven, and it would be absurd for the craftsman to cut down the intractable bronze rather than the softer material of the support. The maker of a reproduction, on

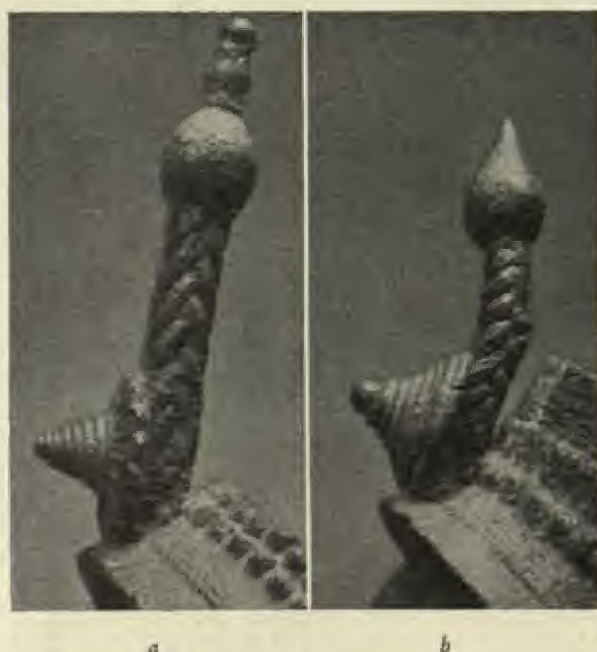


FIG. 2. COMPARISON OF THE CRESTS OF THE 'OLOKUN' (a) AND BRITISH MUSEUM (b) HEADS

The two crests are shown on the same scale but (a) has been cleaned, (b) has not. Note the accretions translated into bronze on the 'Olokun' head (left). The slight prominence at the rear of the crest of (b) about half-way up is the trace of a runner. Photographs: Bernard Fagg

the other hand, probably working from a plaster pattern, might well find himself with too thick an edge to allow of the copy passing as a reasonable facsimile, and his only recourse would be to cut down the metal near the edge.

(f) There is a complete absence on the surface of this head of sharp angles and edges such as are quite normal in *cire perdue* productions and abound on all the other heads, notably at the edges of the vertical face striations, but which tend to disappear in making plaster casts. The 'blind' and dulled appearance of the whole surface of this head would be extraordinary in a *cire perdue* casting so excellent in other respects as the original must have been.

(g) As will be seen clearly in the detailed photograph in Plate B, the headdress of the piece presents the appearance of being coated with an accretion of substances such as paint, or dirt, or sacrificial blood, such as was in fact present in a thin

layer over the whole head before it was cleaned in the Museum Laboratory; the British Museum specimen seen in Plate Aa—one of the pieces excavated in 1938—also presents a somewhat similar aspect, because it has not yet been cleaned and in addition to substantial traces of paint, a certain amount of lateritic soil still adheres to the headdress, filling up the depressions in the decorated parts. However, no extraneous matter now remains on the 'Olokun' head, and the accretions, particularly noticeable at the base of the crest behind the rosette (see figs. 2 and 3), are entirely in bronze. This cannot of course be explained by accretions on the wax in the course of manufacture (i.e. before building up the outer investment), since this, if it had any effect at all, would produce hollows in



FIG. 3. REAR VIEW OF THE 'OLOKUN' HEAD

Note the accretions translated into bronze at the base of the crest; the two cavities at the rear edge of the headdress near the crest; the larger cavities in the temporal regions where the runners were cut away; the internal moulding of the left eye and the irregular protuberances (in bronze) obscuring the right eye; an adherent portion of the core represented by a dark patch at the mouth; and the fracture behind the right ear. Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

the casting instead of filling them up; nor is such carelessness conceivable in craftsmen of the Ife standard. Similarly we do not believe in the possibility that the surface of the wax was partly blurred by melting before the clay investment was added, and this could not possibly account for the degree of accretion behind the rosette. Again, the front surface of the filler of the headdress has every appearance of being the reproduction of a corroded metal surface, but no corrosion has in fact taken place upon this specimen. All these phenomena would be accounted for if we assume that a cast was made from the

original when it was in much the same state as that of the British Museum specimen at present.

(h) In fig. 3 can be seen two irregular depressions, one at each side of the crest, at the rear top border of the fillet which passes across the forehead forming the main part of the headdress. When viewed from a somewhat lower position they are seen as roughly semicircular fractures about 1 inch in diameter (i.e. along the top edge) and extending downwards about $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch; they are concave to a depth of about $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch and at the deepest point in the centre of each depression are the rusty remains of an iron nail, the head of which is just visible as a patch of oxidization in the ornament on the front surface of the fillet (two other iron nails, unaccompanied by depressions, are disposed symmetrically near the sides of the fillet, and four others, in pairs, in the upper part of the rear of the head). The nature of the 'fractures' excludes the possibility that they occurred in the present bronze, or indeed in any bronze, and in any case they exhibit what appears to be a cast surface. They are in fact typical of fractures in plaster or terra cotta and are inconsistent with the molecular structure of metal. We believe that whoever had the replica made, being aware of the importance of including the iron nails, had holes bored to take them in the terra cotta or plaster pattern, so that they could be removed from the holes at the next stage and placed in the sand mould to be picked up in the same position in the bronze cast. In these two cases, however, the plaster broke away when the holes were half bored, and owing to carelessness was not made good before the bronze casting was made from it (such carelessness is traceable at several other points in this piece).

It will be seen that counts (c), (g) and (h) above, or any one of them, if, as we are convinced, they are well founded, are absolute proof that the piece is a reproduction. Taken together these eight arguments seem to leave no room for doubt. We may, however, refer more briefly to some further facts which, while perhaps not in themselves decisive, are useful sustaining evidence:

(i) The runners or feeds seem to have been in a position nearer to that adopted in the modern sand-casting method than to that employed by the bronze founders of Ife, who placed them externally or very close to the top edges in all the other extant heads, and at the top edge in the British Museum specimen. Traces of two of them appear in the 'Olokun' head as two roughly circular and slightly concave depressions about two inches in diameter, on the inner surface about the temporal region behind the lateral ends of the headdress fillet; the manner in which the jets have been removed by chiselling is also noticeably different from that seen on the other heads.

(j) We believe that we have detected traces of the seams typical of piece moulding (and of course inconsistent with the wax method as practised at Ife) on the outer surface about the left ear (see Plate B). There is a faint suggestion of a joint running from near the small hole at the end of the fillet, along the anterior edge of the ear (belonging to what would almost certainly have been made as a separate piece when making a plaster cast or a sand casting), and there is some evidence of the use of a European file to remove traces of the seam of a sand cast behind the top of the ear. We cannot be certain which of these traces arose at the plaster stage and which in the final casting. The interior, particularly at the back, shows more marked ridges, which may well represent unremoved seams, but might possibly be explained also by contraction of the core in heating it to burn out the wax.

(k) The fracture which has removed a quadrilateral fragment from the upper border at the back of the head behind the right ear (see Plate A c and d) has no sharp edges and appears to present not the torn, almost fibrous appearance of bronze fractures such as one on the British Museum specimen, but rather the typical softened cast surface; if so, the reproduction must have been made since 1910, when Frobenius says that this piece was chipped off while the head was being exhumed. We

must, however, record our surprise that there is no turning-in of the broken edge, such as is characteristic of the damage done, mainly in ancient times but partly during excavation, to most of the other heads: the form of the fracture seems quite consistent with a break in plaster, clay, or other friable or brittle material.

(l) The rough, lumpy projections on the interior surface behind the eyes and mouth again suggest a sand casting, and appear in none of the other heads. A clumsy attempt seems to have been made to suggest the modelling of the inner surface of the eyes in close relation to the outer surface, as in all the other heads, and presumably the original of this one. If this were the original, there would have been no point in modelling the core even to this extent, given that the bronze were to be so thick as it in fact is. The irregular excrescences (seen in fig. 3) may be due to an attempt to make a cast from the incrustated inner surface of the original or, less probably, falling away of parts of the sand core before or during pouring of the metal (the dark patch about the lips is, however, a vestige of the core remaining *in situ*).

(m) Samples of the blackened core material taken from behind the lips and the headdress of this head appear to differ from samples from the other bronzes in that the granules are much larger; this difference, again, is consistent with the sand process rather than *cire perdue*.

(n) The patina of the whole specimen is exceptionally thin compared with all the other heads, and its very uniformity gives it a somewhat artificial look, typical of artificial patination on modern bronzes.¹⁰

(o) Embedded slightly to the left of centre of the back of the neck, about $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch from the edge and flush with the bronze surface, is a small fragment of iron about $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch long by $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch at the greatest width. The surface of this fragment is smooth, bright and fresh-looking, and it is perfectly clear that no oxidization has taken place. The eight nails inset around the upper edge of the head, on the other hand, are heavily oxidized and the marked difference suggests to us that these eight nails must have been artificially oxidized, probably by the use of acid, as indeed one would expect in a faithful reproduction. If they were not, we can only think that the unoxidized fragment must be of some form of rustless steel, which would be even stronger evidence. Unfortunately there was no time to determine its composition.

Conclusions

In the light of the above facts, we offer the following reconstruction of the sequence of processes probably employed in casting the head which is in the possession of the present Oni. Four distinct translations are involved: (i) a negative mould made directly from the original; (ii) a positive cast made from (i) as a pattern for sand moulding; (iii) a negative piece mould in sand, made from (ii); (iv) the final positive cast in metal. In more detail:

A mould (i) was first made from the original, possibly outside of Africa, but more probably at Ife; to take it away would have involved an appreciable lapse of time with neither original or copy available there, though this could have been covered by the periodic burial of the original during most of the year. The mould was probably made up of a number of pieces (piece mould) in plaster, clay or like material, the pieces being held together in their correct positions by a solid 'jacket' of similar material. We do not think it likely that a gelatine mould (in two pieces, front and back) would be used in tropical Africa.

In making a sand cast of given thickness it is convenient and usual to work from a positive pattern of the same thickness in a hard material such as plaster. A plaster cast or pattern (ii) was, then, taken from the mould (i). But some difficulty was found in making this as thin in plaster as the original in metal;

so an attempt was made to reproduce the correct thickness of metal at the most important points, the top and bottom edges, and to imitate the internal modelling of the eyes, nose and mouth. A partial casting of the inside may have been employed for the latter. The circumstances point to this part of the work having been done in Nigeria.

Whoever commissioned the reproduction was aware of the need to have iron nails convincingly embedded in it in the correct positions. We consider that this was most probably done by boring holes to receive the iron nails in the plaster pattern (ii). During the boring or when the nails were being pushed into the holes, the plaster fractured in two places on the inside of the diadem; the fractures could have been made good, but this was overlooked. The purpose of putting the nails in the pattern would be to obtain impressions of their heads and points on the pieces (both external and internal) of the sand mould (iii), so that the nails could be replaced in the sand pieces when reassembling them after removal of the plaster pattern (see below); in this way, the nails would be picked up *in situ* by the molten bronze.

The pattern cast (ii) was now passed to the foundry for the founder to make the negative sand mould (iii) in a sand-casting box. This was done by packing sand about the pattern, inside and outside, in a number of removable and replaceable sections or pieces. Four or five pieces are discernible as belonging to the outer face; the inside or core must have consisted of more than two. When the surfaces had been moulded in sand, the pieces were removed, and then replaced, leaving the pattern (ii) out but replacing the iron nails from it in the sand mould in the impressions previously left by their heads and points; the pieces of the core, having had the necessary runners and vents carved out of them, were similarly placed in position. The bronze was then poured in,¹¹ forming the final cast (iv).

The runners and vents were now chiselled away, most traces of seams and the protruding parts of the nails removed, their ends artificially oxidized, and the surface artificially patinated, no attempt being made to chase the surface of the face and neck.

When the new head was delivered to the principal, he had the conspicuous error in over-thickness of the base of the neck reduced by working the inside of it, but at this late stage he could do nothing about the cavities arising from the fractures at the back of the diadem. The head was then substituted for the original, with or without the knowledge and consent of its custodians.

We would make it very plain that it is not our purpose in any degree to apportion or imply responsibility, much less blame, for what took place. But we may point out that any attentive reader of Frobenius's book might gather sufficient data to instruct any competent bronze-founder in the task of producing the replica. The evidence which we offer here is internal, and we have no idea where the original might be. Our contribution to the final solution of the mystery is therefore no more than the evidence that the head is a modern reproduction.¹²

Notes

¹ Wrongly described by R. E. Dennett (*Nigerian Studies*, 1910, p. 23) as having been given to Sir William Macgregor, and by Frobenius (*The Voice of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 116) as having been improperly removed by 'the notorious English Captain [Bower].'

² See also the articles by the Oni of Ife in *Nigeria*, No. 12 (1937) p. 3; by Duckworth in *Nigeria*, No. 14 (1938), p. 101; Bascom in *The Illustrated London News*, 8 April, 1939; and Braunholtz in *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, 1940, p. 75.

³ Through the kind offices of Mr. K. C. Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities, Nigeria, to whose efforts has been mainly due much recent progress in the preservation of traditional arts in Nigeria.

⁴ We look upon this head as male because the similar one in the British Museum (Plate Aa) has the same rows of holes in the face, for attachment of a beard, as most of the other heads. The assumption that it represents the sea deity Olokun rests solely on its discovery in the traditional grove of Olokun, but it is weakened by the discovery there of other (terra cotta) heads without any resemblance to each other. From the conflicting traditional evidence it seems that Olokun, though generally asexual or ambisexual, was worshipped as male at Benin and has, very latterly, been regarded more and more as a goddess at Ife (though Frobenius speaks always of 'the god' or 'the Atlantic Poseidon').

⁵ By this Frobenius meant an electrolytic. This, however, would not produce a copy which would pass muster when handled even by the most inexpert, for this method of casting by the electrolytic deposition of metal could deal with only one surface (the outer one) and the cast would be extremely thin and light in weight, while the inside would have the fibrous, or 'stalagmitic,' surface of deposited metal, totally uncharacteristic of a molten cast. Moreover, it is almost certain that, at that date, it would have had to be deposited in pure copper. This idea would, therefore, probably have been abandoned.

⁶ The Customs (Prohibition of Export of Antique African Sculpture) Order, 1938 (signed on 3 January, 1939); this was superseded by the Customs (Prohibition of Export of African Antiquities and Works of Art) Order, 1943. In 1944, a series of rules were made with the same purpose by the Native Authorities of Benin, Ife and other Yoruba communities.

⁷ The Idena is a large stone carving of a female figure, standing in a grove to the south-south-east of the town, while the 'Oranja toothstone' is a stela or obelisk over nine feet high, known as the *Opa Oranyan* or stick of Oranyan, which stands just outside the town.

⁸ This sub-paragraph is based on an observation made by Mr. H. Maryon.

⁹ In the *cire perdue* or waste-wax process, as practised at Ife and elsewhere in West Africa in ancient and modern times, a solid core is first made, conforming quite closely to the form aimed at in the finished bronze, but on a smaller scale, according to the intended thickness of the bronze and with prominent features in relatively reduced proportion. A layer of bees' or other wax is then applied and is modelled in the exact likeness of the head as it is to appear in the bronze. (In the case of very small castings, such as Ashanti gold-weights, the core may be dispensed with.) Runners and vents are then added in the form of solid sticks of wax, rising from the highest points to meet in an inverted cone, which will become the cup for pouring the molten metal. Next a fine clay slip like that used in making pottery is applied to the surface and allowed to dry; further coats of coarser fire-clay are applied until sufficient thickness is attained to withstand the stresses of casting. When necessary this outer investment is anchored to the core by iron nails, to support the core in position when the wax melts, as otherwise it might shift and spoil the casting. This would not, however, be necessary with most of the Ife bronzes, which have large openings in neck and crown through which core and investment would be located. The large mass of fire-clay completely enclosing the wax model and its system of runners, vents and pouring cup in wax would now be firmly embedded in the earth, or latterly banded with iron, to prevent cracking, and the whole is then fired to harden the fire-clay and melt, run off and burn out the wax. This last operation may be done by building a fire in a culvert beneath the invested mass after it has been buried up to the cup in the ground. Meanwhile the necessary quantity of bronze has been melted in a crucible and is now poured swiftly into the mould. When it has solidified, the investment is broken away and the core scooped out. The runners and vents and any core supports are then cut away with chisels and chasing and polishing of the surface with chisels and abrasives begins.

Great skill is required to make a successful cast, and several of the Ife castings show imperfections which had to be repaired by a further application of the *cire perdue* technique, known as 'burning-in.' The defective part is remodelled with wax and reinvested with fire-clay; fresh molten metal is poured through the repair until it melts the edges of the damaged area and fuses with them.

¹⁰ Samples of the metal in the 'Olokun' and British Museum heads have been taken and are being examined in the British Museum Laboratory. An analytical survey by Dr. A. A. Moss will be given in a subsequent publication.

¹¹ If the piece broken off the original were available at this point, it could have served for the composition of a bronze of right colour

and, at the final stage, for the colour to be aimed at in the artificial patination.

¹² We trust that the 'Olokun' head may be sent to Europe again before long for further scrutiny and for the verification of our conclusions by other students. In the meantime, any information bearing upon the matter will be gratefully received by us or in the Department of Ethnography, British Museum.

THE NUER COL WIC

by

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2 Among the Nuer of the Nilotic Sudan a person killed by lightning is known as *col wic*. Persons said by the Nuer to have been taken up to the sky by a whirlwind come into the same category as do also, some Nuer have told me, persons found dead in the bush without any apparent cause of death. A *col wic* is revered as a sacred spirit of his lineage (*kwoth goal*) and is called on for aid, especially when a man pursued by enemies seeks a refuge. Most lineages seem to have at least one such spirit to whom cows are dedicated and their bull calves sacrificed.

It is not surprising that Nuer fear lightning because, apart from the violence of storms in their country, many people are killed by it and shrines erected in their honour are a common sight in Nuer villages. When a heavy storm is raging and the sky is pierced by flashes of lightning, there is silence in the byres and one may see old men throw pieces of tobacco from the doorways into the storm, uttering a simple prayer, such as 'Ah God, grandfather, take this tobacco. I have compensated you (*kok*) grandfather (with this offering). Come to earth gently, do not come with fury to your grass (the thatched roof). Come gently to your grass. No one disputes with you. It is your world (*ghaudu*). It is your will (*ruwadu*), yours alone.' When after a heavy storm I told a Nuer that should there be another storm of like severity I would desert my tent and take shelter in his byre he reprimanded me: 'God does not wish the thunder to come like that again. You should not suggest it.'

When a person is killed by lightning Nuer are resigned. They say that God has struck him with his fire and that as God has taken him there is nothing to be said. God would be angry were they to grieve too much for someone whom he has taken away. The walls of the burnt-out byre or hut are broken down over the dead body and the charred remains of rafters, supports and thatch are heaped on top of them. If a man is struck in the bush his body is covered with grass and thornwood. A person struck by lightning never receives an ordinary burial and the usual mortuary rites are not held for him. Sacrifices must be made at once. The people sacrifice even if a byre or hut is struck without causing death because the misfortune is an evil which must be got rid of. They say '*ba luak kier ka del*' (the byre is expiated with a goat). If a person is killed his kith and kin feel that they are in grave danger and anyone closely connected with the dead makes a sacrifice as soon as he

hears of the calamity. The dead man's paternal and maternal kin and his affines bring oxen and sheep and goats to the mortuary mound and sacrifice them there. Even distant kinsmen and unrelated friends and neighbours make sacrifices. For example, if a girl is killed by lightning her sweetheart will sacrifice an animal. Fellow villagers who do not sacrifice animals throw leaves of the tobacco plant on to the mound in silence. It is believed that unless sacrifices are made at once the *col wic* may return bringing death to man and beast. Also, the close kinsmen of the dead are so unclean that relatives and neighbours may not eat or drink in their homes before they have sacrificed; animals must follow the dead before the people can rest in peace. Nuer say '*Caa je kir ka det kene ruuth*', 'He (the dead man) was expiated with goats (and sheep) and oxen.' The sacrifices cleanse the kith and kin of evil and ward off from them further misfortune.

Some weeks or months later a ceremony is held in honour of the *col wic*. In 1936 I had an opportunity to witness this ceremony in honour of a girl called Nyakewa, the daughter of Rwacar-Nyuoc-Kung, among the western Nuer. During the afternoon the women of the village collected in the garden of the dead girl to make beer, for it is the custom on this occasion for the women to work together instead of each in her own home. While they were engaged in making beer rain began to fall and wood ash was thrown into the air and Nyakewa was addressed: 'Sister, would you spoil our work in this way? It is for you we do it.' The rain soon passed over though the sky remained overclouded for the rest of the day. Nuer expect rain to fall on this day, but after they have sacrificed. They say: 'We have slaughtered cattle for God. The contents of the stomachs (*wau*) will be washed today by God and the blood also.'

The ceremony began in the late afternoon in the homestead where Nyakewa was killed, that of her mother Nyaruithni and of her brother Malith, an uninitiated boy. Her *pater* (she had been begotten in adultery by another man during his lifetime) was dead. The ceremony was held in her mother's home and not in her husband's home because, although bridewealth had been paid for her, she was not fully married in that she had not passed through the consummation ceremony or borne a child to her husband before she was struck by lightning. A fully married

woman who is killed by lightning becomes the *col wic* of her husband's lineage and not of her father's lineage. Her husband is *givande*, her owner, and they say of such a spirit that she was married with cattle and will not return to her father's lineage. I have noted that when a widow is killed by lightning at the home of a man with whom she cohabited after her husband's death the shrine in her honour is erected at her dead husband's home, though his people invite her lover to attend ceremonies in her honour.

Lat-Pan-Kung, the *gwan buthni* of Nyakewa's father (the man who performs ritual for his family), ritually made fire with firesticks and from it were lighted the various fires on which pots were placed for boiling the beer. The mud supports for the pots were made on the spot, for one does not use old things on these occasions. Since the ceremony was in honour of a woman a new mud windscreen was constructed. The *gwan buthni* then erected the *riek*, a sacred stake, in the centre of the funeral mound and planted at the side of it a sapling of the *nyuot* tree. When planted in the rains the sapling generally takes root. If it dies, they plant another. Many of the trees one sees in Nuer villages have been planted there in this manner. No one would think of cutting them for timber or firewood. Nuer do not, in any case, use trees for these purposes when they grow on village sites, even when they have no sacred associations.

Shortly before sunset a procession of about twenty men arrived bearing in their hands leaves of the tobacco plant and heads of millet. They threw down these offerings near the mound. No one comes to the place of sacrifice empty-handed. The procession was headed by the *gwan buthni* leading a black ox. Before it was sacrificed men came from all directions leading oxen and he-goats and rams. The father of the dead girl's husband brought an ox, as did one of her maternal uncles. Among those who brought rams and he-goats were the girl's mother, one of her maternal aunts, one of her maternal uncles, several of her father's kinsmen, and the man who had begotten her brother in adulterous congress with her mother. The black ox was speared near the sacred stake and the sheep and goats were speared immediately afterwards. As soon as a sheep or goat fell it was cut in half through the belly. The oxen were also cut up unskinned, for one does not use the skins of animals sacrificed for a *col wic*. The head, feet, some of the entrails, and part of the skin of the black ox were placed at the foot of the stake or hung on it. The undigested contents of the animals' stomachs were collected and placed at the foot of the stake and their tethering cords were hung on it. Most of the flesh of the black ox went to the girl's father's lineage, on whose behalf it was sacrificed, but some went to collateral lineages, some to married women of the father's lineage (the sisters and paternal aunts), and some to the girl's maternal uncles. I did not enquire how the other animals were divided but it may, I think, be assumed that in each case the animal was mostly consumed by the paternal kinsmen of the man who brought it to the sacrifice.

At dawn on the following morning the dead girl's senior maternal uncle sacrificed a bull on behalf of the maternal kinsfolk. It was first castrated in his byre because animals

are not sacrificed entire. The uncle made a short oration before spearing it. The meat of this animal was divided between the dead girl's own family, her maternal uncles, and various other relatives on the mother's side who were present. A man representing the mother then sacrificed an ox at the sacred stake on behalf of the family. However the flesh of these sacrificed oxen may be divided according to the rights of kinship, all present must receive pieces of meat, even though they be unrelated persons, because all must taste the meats of sacrifice to show the *col wic* that they do not reject (*cany*) her. The last sacrifice I witnessed was of a goat by a brother of the husband of the dead girl's mother's sister, on behalf of this maternal aunt; but I was told that more sheep and goats were slaughtered on subsequent days and that in all more than twenty animals were sacrificed. These were in addition to those killed immediately after Nyakewa had been struck by lightning. As the husband of one of Nyakewa's maternal aunts was killed at the same moment as herself while he was on a visit to her village many animals of the village had also to be sacrificed in his honour in his own village. The flocks of the village were so depleted that when a youth of it was seriously ill shortly afterwards his parents sought in vain for a ram or he-goat in the village kraals to sacrifice on his behalf.

When the sun was high in the heavens on this second day of the ceremony the beer was drunk, though it had not properly fermented. The old men poured some on the sacred stake while uttering a few words. I heard one of the maternal uncles say: 'Nyakewa, we have no kinship with god. You have kinship with him now. See, your mother remains here; do not let the spirits trouble her.' Towards the end of the beer-drinking the people sang hymns of praise to God to the accompaniment of hand-clapping.

Later the waste products of the beer were heaped around the base of the stake on top of the tobacco leaves and millet heads and parts of the sacrificed beasts. The dead girl's ox-tail tassels, her horn spoon, her butter gourd, and two lumps of tobacco were tied to the stake. These things were said to belong to God, for the girl's soul was now with God. Finally the cooking stones and pots used in the beer-making were neatly arranged round the heap of offerings. The people could now take off their mourning cords and shave their heads and put on ornaments: 'For Nyakewa has altogether departed from us who are men and has become a spirit (*kwoth*). Henceforward we will invoke her name in battle as we brandish our spears.' About a year after this ceremony kinsmen gather again at the shrine to drink beer and to sprinkle (*kith*) some of it into the air as an offering.

I found it difficult to decide from the prayers uttered at the ceremony I witnessed and from discussions with Nuer about the matter whether they revere the person who has been killed by lightning or Col the god of lightning, who is one of the sky-gods regarded by them, if I understand their beliefs rightly, as manifestations of the Supreme Being. Col is also associated with rain, the *yir nhial*, the river which Nuer says runs through the sky, and the *nyuot* tree, of which it is said that 'God loves it.' I have heard it said that Col is black-haired and that this is the reason for calling a person

killed by lightning a *col wic*, black head. I think that the Nuer do not separate in their minds the man killed by lightning and the god of lightning who killed him. They say that the *yie*, the life, has been taken by God and has become part of God. It is only the *ring*, the flesh, which they cover up. The *col wic* is in the sky: 'He has been taken by God into the sky.' Nuer say that there are multitudes of such spirits in the sky.

Sometimes a *col wic* spirit enters into (*gwang*) a member of his family or lineage. When this happens the man into

whose body he enters falls sick and when he recovers he makes a shrine (*yik*) in his homestead and this takes the place of the original shrine at the home of the person killed by lightning. Some of the dead man's ornaments may be inserted into the small mound of the new shrine and others hung on the stake erected in it and on the low fence enclosing it. Occasionally the spirit remains in a man after he has recovered from his sickness and he then becomes a *guk Cuol*, a prophet of Col, and the god of lightning speaks through him to the people.

SHORTER NOTE

Primitive and Modern Art in London

3 An exhibition of primitive art in London should always have a warm welcome from anthropologists, for it was British (and also German) ethnographers pre-eminently who pioneered in the collection, study, exhibition and publication of primitive works of art in the late nineteenth century. The belief has somehow become enshrined in our twentieth-century mythology, especially on the Continent, that it was the artists who 'discovered' primitive art about 1910; but in fact it had by then been accepted as an important part of anthropological study for twenty years and had been the subject of some of the most significant early works of anthropological theory. That these ethnographers eschewed æsthetic considerations on the whole in their published works is entirely to their credit; but many museum curators and other ethnographers had actually appreciated the worth of much primitive art since the middle of the century or before. The Benin Expedition of 1897, and the publication by Read and Dalton in 1899 of the antiquities there obtained, provided the sounding board from which eventually, a full decade later, the echoes reached the ears of certain artists; since then Paris has held the limelight, and 'modern' art, owing much to the primitive, gained and has maintained a complete ascendancy there. In Britain, on the other hand, quasi-photographic naturalism is still the official religion, and there are few artists yet who pay much attention to primitive art.

The Institute of Contemporary Arts is to be congratulated upon organizing the present show, which opened on 21 December and will close on 29 January, at the Academy Hall in Oxford Street. Its title, '40,000 Years of Modern Art,' begs some questions in palæolithic chronology, though not so outrageously as its American imitation now showing in New York, which (according to *Time* magazine), raises an Upper Aurignacian 'Venus' to the exalted and surprisingly precise age of 77,000 years. The present exhibition sets out to compare primitive art, mainly from Africa and Oceania, and modern art, with some emphasis on the surrealist approach. Readers of MAN will not look here for a critique of the modern paintings in the exhibition, but an anthropologist's

impression may perhaps be recorded (though it is hardly a new one) to the effect that the experimental art of the modern school suffers severely in the comparison with Negro or Melanesian art by reason of the apparent lack of any informing conviction comparable to the religious sanctions behind the primitive sculptures. This is clearly seen, for example, in a characteristic painting by the doyen of surrealists, de Chirico, in the foreground of which appears an unmistakable derivative of a ritual mask of the Dogon tribe in the Niger bend; these masks (for the study of which there are unequalled facilities in Griaule's great work, *Masques Dogons*, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 193-) are among the most awe-inspiring of African carvings, but little or nothing of that kind of awe is communicated by the painting (reproduced in the catalogue, but not exhibited), though it may well move one in other ways. If the modern work imparts a sense of search and experiment, of trial and error, the primitive sculptures are remarkable for their extraordinary stability, for the sense of gradual, evolutionary development through the thousands of years which one must postulate to explain their extreme diversification.

As an exhibition of primitive art, the show may be unreservedly commended to all anthropologists. Many of the finest African pieces are from the collections of Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute, notably Mr. Webster Plass and Mr. W. O. Oldman, and there are many fine Melanesian specimens from the too little known ethnographical collections of the Brighton Museum. All in all, the high level of quality evident in these 130 pieces has probably never been equalled in an exhibition in this country outside our chief museums; and much care has been taken to secure accurate ethnographical documentation (though perforce on a minimum scale) in the well illustrated catalogue. The exhibition is a worthy precursor for that much greater exhibition of primitive art on an international scale which should be organized in London before long, and which would demonstrate that an ethnographical arrangement, by stylistic areas, would help and not hinder the æsthetic approach of the public to the exotic and still obscure masterpieces of the pre-industrial societies.

WILLIAM FAGG

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Man and his Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology.

4 By Melville J. Herskovits. New York (Knopf), 1948. Pp. xviii, 678, xxxvii, with 18 plates and 66 text figures. Price \$ 6.75

This is a major work which might perhaps have been called *Principles of Anthropology* if the title had not been already mortgaged to an allied but tortuous discipline (MAN, 1948, 95). Professor Herskovits shows how, when broad and original in approach, discriminating in choice of data, and vigorous in treatment, a scientific

work of functional integration may emerge from the mill as a stimulating human document. He has dealt faithfully and well not only with man and his works, but also, by citation and quotation, with students of man, and their works. The writings of our Fellows, past and present, take a prominent place in the extensive documentation, and their authors are given favoured-nation treatment. The author's expository style is clear and explicit, and if at times the heavy tread of terminology may seem to break the rhythm of his

prose it must be borne in mind that science marches on its verbal technicalities; synthetic polysyllables, rooted in dead languages, accompany and signalize the growth of a subject into a science.

A balanced and consecutive appreciation of a comprehensive work such as this could not be given space in *MAN*, and a rapid running commentary only can be offered by way of sporadic choice, as the many chapters and the multitude of topics come and go. There are thirty-eight chapters comprised in eight Parts, which are, in order: Introductory, The Nature, The Materials, The Structure, and The Aspects of Culture, as to five of them; and Cultural Dynamics, Cultural Variation, and Summary for the rest. The double-column Index of thirty-seven pages is noteworthy, and so also are the eighteen pages of Bibliographies.

The Introductory chapter, 'Anthropology, the Science of Man,' serves as a tentacular and expanding definition, exploring boundaries, reaching into allied and associated disciplines, and touching others more remote. To quote: anthropology is 'to be thought of as one of the most highly specialized of the sciences, and at the same time one of the broadest.' Nearest to it, and indeed a part of it, are subjects such as prehistoric archaeology and linguistics, which have one foot in the anthropological camp, and one in their own, obeying its own self-centred discipline. Other sciences, biological and physical, less closely or not at all interlocked with our subject, are available to be called in for conference or service by the student, whether he works in the 'Anthropologist's Laboratory,' the field, or on his home ground. Three disciplines are emphasized that stand in a peculiarly close relationship—history, psychology, and philosophy—each of which is 'concerned with syntheses of broad areas of human experience'; and 'our approach to an understanding [of human cultures] will be in terms of many concepts and findings of these disciplines.' This promise is fulfilled, though it might be suggested that philosophy is often apt to borrow more generously than it lends. In passing it may be noted that the temptation to quote freely throughout the book is irresistible, but must be resisted, since man cannot review by quotation alone; a little of it may suffice to put an author in the dock or the witness-box, the pillory or the pulpit, as the case may be.

The second chapter, 'The Reality of Culture,' begins with definitions, and soon produces paradoxes: e.g. culture is universal in man's experience, but each local or regional manifestation is unique; it is stable yet dynamic and constantly changes; it fills our lives but rarely enters our thoughts. The two first must be left with the present reader for his entertainment, but the third may be looked at here more closely. It raises the question: Should culture be studied as though it were independent of man, or as existing as a series of constructs in the mind of the individual? With this question again, may be associated that of cultural determinism. We are given a lengthy discussion of these matters, on what may be called an authoritative plane; aspects of conditioning—'enculturation' is the author's new word for it—appear on the scene of action, until the conclusion is reached that it is useful, for certain problems, to study culture as if it had an objective existence, whilst recognizing always that it is a construct, a 'manifestation of the human psyche.' It would seem largely to depend, we may tritely say, upon the point of view—which is perhaps the point of most paradoxes. The author is inclined to stress the evidence that 'man is swept on by the historic stream of his culture,' but it may be argued that the facts will not bear the weight of cultural determinism. Incidentally, it might seem that there is an equally good case for linguistic determinism, amongst the several others that have been evolved to put man in his place, not only in nature, but also in his own cultural domain. Technological determinism has recently been suggested by Leroi-Gourhan. But perhaps all determinisms are constructs, or even unilateral paradoxes.

In 'Culture and the Individual,' a conspicuous place is taken by discussions of psychological methods and results, chiefly behaviourism, the Gestalt approach, and psycho-analysis. Three systems of approach to the study of the interaction between the individual and his cultural setting are brought to our notice and dissected: the cultural configurational, the modal personality, and the projective techniques; and 'they are perhaps best described as successive steps taken in the development of concern with the psycho-anthropo-

logical problem of the role of the individual in culture and the impact of culture on the human personality.' The first is ethnological, and is exemplified in the pioneer work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead; the second lays its stress on the individual (Kardiner and Du Bois); the third takes in both individual and culture (as in the projective 'ink-blot' technique of Korschner and Hallowell). It seems probable, one may think, that 'doodling' also may have a limited psychological application.

In 'The Problem of Cultural Relativism' we are told that the primary mechanism that makes for the evaluation of culture is ethnocentrism—the glorification of a way of life, a country, or what not else, over all others. It was this state of mind that did much to prejudice and even to invalidate the results of the early and untrained fieldworkers, who had insufficient power of detachment from the effects of their own 'enculturation' to free their minds of fixed values and frozen moral principles. They or their religious colleagues put the bodies of South Sea islanders into 'Mother Hubbards,' and their minds into trinitarian clamps.

The chapters on the evolution of man, prehistoric archaeology, physical type and culture, and habitat and culture may pass without comment, though not for lack of interest. Such topics as culture traits, culture areas, and the pattern 'phenomenon' must be left unexplored; as must also the chapters concerned with what may be called 'conventional ethnology,' with the comment that the author's comprehensive treatment is far removed from the fixity of purpose that constricts our *Notes and Queries*. Special attention is given to the graphic and plastic arts, with numerous illustrations, whilst 'Language, the Vehicle of Culture,' is a useful and attractive introduction to its subject.

The whole of Part VI, 'Cultural Dynamics,' is concerned with diffusion and allied topics. A discussion of 'Discovery and Invention as Mechanisms of Cultural Change' does reasonable justice to attempts that have been made to distinguish between the two processes, though the author does not regard the results as eminently successful, and suggests that the distinction is not functionally 'too important.' The proposal that the use of the word 'invention' should be extended to cover concepts and ideas is by no means welcome, since it would give the word an even vaguer and more elusive meaning than it has at present. Presumably it would cover such ideas and concepts as those which gave rise to the secret ballot, one-way traffic, OGPU, and an infinitude of cultural intangibles. Material constructions, and mental constructs having no direct material progeny, are incompatibles, the analogies being superficial only.

With 'Diffusion Theories' we enter an atmosphere which not so many years ago was turbulent and murky, but now is tranquil. We may leave it so, with the comment that the author's attitude towards diffusion in general, as distinct from diffusion theories, is, in accordance with the modern tendency, one of cordial acceptance; but that his cordiality fades out at an early stage of the passage from Eastern Asia to America.

The addition of a few more chapter titles may help towards a fuller realization of the scope of the book, for example: 'Social Organization, the Structure of Society'; 'Education and the Sanctions of Custom'; 'Religion'; 'Folklore'; 'Drama and Music'; 'Acculturation'; 'Cultural Transmission in Process'; 'Cultural Drift and Historic Accident'; 'Cultural Law and the Problem of Prediction.'

The first chapter of the Summary, 'A Theory of Culture,' must itself be summarized: 'the concepts of the nature, forms, and functioning presented in the preceding pages of this work will be brought together, to present the theory of culture that has formed the basis of our discussions.' Eight propositions are formulated and discussed in some detail. They may be concisely rendered as: Culture is learned; it derives from the biological, environmental, psychological and historical components of human existence; it is structural; it is divided into aspects; it is dynamic; it is variable; it exhibits regularities that permit its analysis by the methods of science; it is the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to his total setting and gains the means for creative expression. Only by a study of the book itself can the reader appreciate the author's success in giving illumination, as well as cogency, to these propositions.

The main topic of the final chapter, 'Anthropology in a World Society,' is applied anthropology, its origin and development, its methods and results, and its value. We may content ourselves with an extract from one of the several highly pertinent quotations from Evans-Pritchard: 'Of one thing I feel quite certain: that no one can devote himself whole-heartedly to both interests [pure and applied] and I doubt whether anyone can investigate fundamental and practical problems at the same time.'

No such ambitious work as this can be without defects, at least in the eyes of its reviewers, and here the chapter on 'Technology and the Utilization of Natural Forces' must come under criticism. The strictly technological portion of the chapter could clearly be expected to be, and is, no more than an outline sketch, but this is distorted by some misleading details of certain relatively complex techniques which are highly resistant to compressed description. They have been forced into strait-jackets, with resultant injury and deformation. Condensed descriptions of details of the loom and weaving, to take one example, always make complexity worse confounded, and brevity becomes the soul of blunders. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the accounts of barkcloth-making, basketry, spinning and weaving, and pottery-making, there are manifest errors and misconceptions which will shock only the technologist, which in no way prejudice any of the author's arguments and conclusions, but which are blots on the chapter; they are for the most part errors in details which might have been omitted, and are therefore doubly superfluous. It may be suggested, with respect, that the unavoidable revision of the chapter for the next edition of the book, should begin with the extrusion of all technological detail likely under pressure of space to fall short of being factually informative; and that the word 'technology' and the subject itself should give place to 'material culture,' which has a closer affinity with the author's expository principles and practice. It may also be suggested that the missing subject of travel and transport, treated on general and not on technological lines, should find a place. If static igloos and wigwams, why not dynamic dug-outs, plank canoes and many other actual or potential agents of diffusion? It would also seem that, surprisingly enough, such subjects as head-deformation, weighty ear ornaments, and huge lip plates, have no psychological or aesthetic attractions for the author. But perhaps it is asking too much to expect everything, and in any case the subject of deformation of the person belongs to another missing context. Attention may also be called here to Plate 13 and fig. 53 (p. 403), and the relevant text, in which a carved ivory receptacle is attributed to Benin on evidence which, as the Editor of MAN has suggested to the reviewer, is not by any means convincing.

That the study of principles rather than of facts for their own sake is the main purpose of the book has perhaps been made clear. It does not purport to be a textbook of anthropology, though

consideration of certain inclusions and exclusions may suggest that the author was sometimes in two minds on this point; but his model has been neither an encyclopædia, which includes everything, nor *Notes and Queries*, which omits nothing.

To conclude, the book is an adventure in anthropology for author and reader alike. The former has risked coming under fire from many quarters, but no critic, however quick on the trigger, can withhold his respect and admiration for the industry, the wide range of knowledge and the insight that permeate and dignify this work of high endeavour and significant achievement.

H. S. HARRISON

Man, an Autobiography. By George R. Stewart. London (Cassell), 1948. Pp. 254. Price 10s. 6d.

5 In this conversation piece of fact, narrative and interpretation, it is Man himself, in the first person singular, who looks over his shoulder to review and reflect upon some of the high spots of his journey from the anthropoid age of confusion to that of our own day. A millennium-to-millennium chronicle, presented as the retrospective running commentary of an eye-witness and participant, might have inflicted on the reader a spate of senile reminiscences, and we are obliged to Man's literary agent for exerting his editorial skill in reducing the potential flood to a navigable stream. Selected human phases and events and tendencies, artifacts and customs, are given precedence in virtue of their established interest and significance, and are pictured in relation to the ever changing scene, natural and cultural. Their origins and development, their sequences and their consequences are explored with simplicity and skill. Of the large number of topics that are thus ventilated these are a few: life in the trees and early (but speculative) terrestrial adventures; using tools and making them and eventually chattering about them; fire and warmth and cooking; various other discoveries and inventions as time goes on; hunting, and the domestication of animals and plants; villages and cities; slavery and social classes; ancient civilizations; wars and conquests and their effects; and peoples of antiquity ending with the Romans—'one of the more stupid peoples,' who achieved 'a road, a sword, an arch, and a law.' Then through medieval Europe to kingdoms, democracies, and the atom bomb. Here is food in superabundance, without the risks of novelty, for a story 'told in gossipy fashion.' Man's literary style is, indeed, attractively free and easy, and it has a lucidity which is reinforced for the general reader by the absence of terminological austerities. Flights of fancy are not wanting, but it cannot be said that speculative licence is abused, whilst deductions and hypotheses are modestly propounded. Encouraged and restrained by discreet collaboration Man has popularized himself, and his book may serve as a genial approach to the discipline of anthropology.

H. S. HARRISON

ASIA

Little Aden Folklore. By Oliver H. Myers. Reprinted from the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, Vol. XLIV, Cairo, 1947, pp. 177-233, with 4 plates

6 The author must be thanked for devoting the limited leisure given him by war service to investigating the folklore of Little Aden. This small peninsula, which is separated from Aden by the harbour, has two villages with some eleven hundred inhabitants who live by fishing, smuggling and bumboat peddling. These dark-skinned villagers differ entirely in physical type from the Bedu of the highlands, and seem to represent a conquered stock of earlier inhabitants. Their official Sunni religion is a veneer over deep layers of worship of saints and propitiation of *jinn*; the rationalization of time has made the people regard the *jinn* as the servants of the saints, while each *jinn* has several *shayatin* servants. Mr. Myers concludes (pp. 218-20) that the *jinn* cults described in previous pages are a blend of the 'official' pagan religion of patriarchal but pre-Islamic days with the 'witchcraft' of neolithic times when Arabia was matriarchal and totemistic. Amongst other evidence of survivals of this earliest layer he mentions the numbers of female spirits and priestesses, the passing of spiritual powers through female

succession and certain remaining traces of totemism. The altars of the *jinn* and the offerings and sacrifices are clearly pagan; the religious dances, especially those in which men and women dance together, are totally alien to Islam.

The author rightly thinks that anthropological research in the Aden Colony and Protectorate would give valuable results, since 'little has been written to show the primitive nature of this area, which is largely peopled by savages who, however, are rapidly changing and losing their "free and friendly attitude" before the cramping puritanism of *sayyids* and *fagis* from the North.' Timely, therefore, is his advocacy of the early financing by the Government of one or more anthropological expeditions. Perhaps this would show Indian parallels, if not definite Indian influences as perhaps hinted at by the author's suggestion of the Indian origin of the Hinaidi tribe which is an element of the Little Aden population: after all, Hadhramaut has supplied 'Arab' fighters to the Muslim rulers of India for many centuries.

The need of constant reference to the voluminous corrigenda and addenda (pp. 223-33) does not make the main text easy reading. Although this extra material was collected in 1946-1947, while the

main text was written in December, 1944, both were first published together in 1947, and it would have made for clarity to have incorporated the new matter in the article before it was printed.

W. V. GRIGSON

Report on Santals in Bengal. By K. P. Chattopadhyay, Calcutta University, 1947. Pp. iv, 54. Price Re 1. **Municipal Labour in Calcutta.** By K. P. Chattopadhyay and Gautamasankar Ray, Calcutta University, 1947. Pp. 36. Price Re 1

These two pamphlets report useful sampling surveys by the Calcutta University Department of Anthropology of the living conditions of Santal villagers and Calcutta Corporation labourers. The Santal enquiry was financed by the 1945 Government of undivided Bengal as a result of the response to Professor Chattopadhyay's initiative of the British adviser to the Governor in tribal matters. The corporation labour survey was conducted by Mr. Ray at the cost of the University under the Professor's guidance, with lukewarm help from municipal officials.

It is still sometimes urged that there is no need for special treatment of the Indian aboriginal, who should be regarded as grist for the mill, the factory or urban labour. This Calcutta report shows the soul-destroying fate to which such *laissez faire* would condemn aboriginals drifting to that woe; yet the Corporation pigeon-holed the 1933 recommendations of its own special committee, which spoke of the 'sub-human' level at which its employees had to exist. Their bad housing, inadequate food and low pay have caused many strikes in the past twenty years. The sample surveyed consisted of 17,588 labourers. The gross monthly income of those living singly even during the war averaged only Rs. 38.35 a head, and that of the 'families' of labourers living together with one or more other persons Rs. 18.37 a head. Their diet is far below the Indian Government nutrition expert's moderate estimate of a normal diet for labourers. The workmen live either in Corporation barracks condemned as extremely insanitary as long ago as 1913, or in worse rented huts in slum areas in which the individual floorspace is a bare 25 sq. ft., the area of a bed. There is no systematic rise of wages, and all labour, even those who have served the Corporation from father to son, is treated as casual; there is no provident fund, and hardly any welfare work.

By contrast, the village Santals of Bengal remain essentially a peasantry and retain to some extent their tribal background. But the survey showed 'an economic situation' which, like that of most Indian aboriginals outside Assam, 'is not satisfactory,' despite the temporary relief afforded by war-time wages. Share-cropping, the usual curse of aboriginal India, is general. The average Santal holding of owned land varies from .5 to 3.7 acres, or of owned land plus half the share-cropped land from 3.1 to 4.2 acres. As in the Central Provinces the prime need is to prevent further loss of land, for which the chief remedy suggested is a law to raise the cultivator's share of the produce of share-cropped land from half to three-fourths. As everywhere, debt legislation has failed to keep interest down because no alternative cheap credit facilities have been provided, not even grain banks: indebtedness is smaller, however, than in many tribal areas. Few Santals are literate, and it is urged that primary education should become compulsory. Apart from the cost of this, the Report is silent as to the use of Santali for teaching and the availability of Santal teachers or alternatively the readiness of other men to teach in Santal areas.

After a brief account of the surviving authority of headmen in each area, the Report recommends the replacement of *pargana* headmen by assemblies of village headmen such as already exist in some areas, and the designation of these as Santal Boards with executive powers like those of Union Boards in non-tribal areas and judicial powers in social disputes; but the effect of this sound last recommendation would be upset by a further proposal that the Boards' social decisions should be appealable in the local civil courts. Sound suggestions are made for the work and training (in tribal languages and cultural anthropology) of the Special Officers for Aboriginal Areas.

This short report does not say how far the Bengal Santals have retained their tribal language and culture, nor does it relate the sample surveyed (5,379 individuals in 1,072 families in 72 villages of 6 districts) to the total Santal population of Bengal. But it is a useful summary, and the conclusions drawn confirm the recommendations of similar investigations in other provinces. Let us hope that the new Western Bengal Government takes more action on the Santal report than the Calcutta Corporation took on its 1933 Committee's revelations.

W. V. GRIGSON

CORRESPONDENCE

The Hallmarks of Mankind: A Review Challenged. Cf. MAN, 1948, 151

8 SIR,—In his review of my book *The Hallmarks of Mankind* Professor Ashley Montagu has charged me with making statements and giving figures which 'can be demonstrated to be wrong by the production of one actual specimen after another.' I consider this to be a serious charge and I therefore feel justified in asking that Professor Ashley Montagu should substantiate it by the production of the actual specimens demonstrating the incorrectness of my statements.

F. WOOD JONES

Royal College of Surgeons of England

The Bolas and its Distribution. Cf. MAN, 1948, 53 and 165

9 SIR,—Spherical stones of two types are frequently found in apparent association with implements in our river gravels and on surface sites. The most perfect examples have been described by R. A. Dart in *The Round-Stone Culture of South Africa* (*S. Af. Journ. Sci.*, Vol. XXII, 1925, pp. 437-440, illustrated).

(a) The perfect sphere, covered with minute peckings or crumbings, seems generally associable with Chelles-Acheul implements, and was first noted many years ago by T. N. Leslie in the Vereeniging gravels of the Vaal.

(b) The faceted sphere was first noted by E. J. Dunn, and two examples (one dated 22/4/1877) are illustrated in *The Bushman* (Griffin, London, 1931, Plate II, 7 and 8), where they are described as cores.

In both types the diameter is generally between 5 and 7.5 cm. In

river gravels it has always been difficult to be sure that the specimens of type (a) were not pothole stones, either occurring naturally in the same gravel as the tools or collected by man for use. The faceted examples raise no such doubts—nor does the beautifully shaped specimen depicted by Dart. The puzzle is to discover how the flakes forming the facets were removed, as the closer the approximation to the spherical form, the smaller is the striking platform available.

School of African Studies,

University of Cape Town

A. J. H. GOODWIN

Mrs. Milward's Heads of Indian Tribesmen. Cf. MAN, 1948, 146

10 SIR,—I write with reference to Sir Theodore Tasker's review of Mrs. Milward's *Artist in Unknown India*, to say that her gift of her original plaster casts to this Museum is a service to anthropology which might perhaps be more heavily underlined even than he has done. The heads are the most accurate representations of Indian tribesmen from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin that I have ever seen, and there are men among them obviously recognizable at first glance as old acquaintances (though I did not know she had taken their likenesses, as I was out of India when she went to the Naga Hills). I think I am right in saying also that experimental measurements made on her casts and on the living head with anthropometrical instruments showed the very slightest differences only, although the measurements she uses are not those of orthodox anthropometry.

J. H. HUTTON

St. Catherine's College, Cambridge



ENGRAVED BONE OBJECTS FROM AN IRISH BURIAL CAIRN

Actual size; the numbers refer to a descriptive list made by Mr. Tempest; the dotted lines indicate where slight flattening of the sharp edges is found

BONE OBJECTS FROM AN IRISH BURIAL CAIRN*

by

H. G. TEMPEST, M.R.I.A.

Introduction

II The object of these notes is once more¹ to draw the attention of archaeologists and ethnologists to some puzzling artifacts in the hope that some scholar may, from knowledge of allied subjects, be able to suggest a purpose that will fit all the facts.

The objects were found by Eugene Conwell in 1865 when he was exploring a very remarkable group of thirty sepulchral cairns on a ridge top at Loughcrew,² Co. Meath, Ireland. Although W. F. Wakeman is said to have reported the cairns in a paper read to the Architectural Society of Oxford in 1858,³ no detailed description had appeared in publications in Ireland until Conwell made his report to the Royal Irish Academy. In this report he mentioned these curious blade-like bone objects of which he had unearthed over 5,000 fragments. A number of those which bear engraved ornament were illustrated in the *Proceedings* of the Academy⁴ and also in a pamphlet written and published by Conwell under the fanciful title of *The Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla*.⁵ Since that time they have figured occasionally in discussions on La Tène ornament, but their purpose has never been explained. I hope that similar or analogous objects may have come to light in other countries and that a satisfactory explanation, both of their purpose, and of the fact that their provenance is confined to this one site in the British Isles, may be forthcoming.

Excavation of the Site

The Loughcrew group of cairns of passage-grave type is now well known, together with the ornamentation of Bronze Age style which appears on so many of the chamber stones.⁶ In addition to three of very large size, there are twenty-seven smaller cairns which even in 1863 had suffered the loss of a great part of their cairn covering, leaving the chambers roofless.

An excellent summary of information about these bone objects and their discovery is given by H. S. Crawford in the article already quoted (Note 1).⁷ His description of the site cannot be improved on:

The group at the western end of the hills consists of 14 cairns, two of which are very large, viz. D⁸ in which no chamber has been found and L which is only second in importance to the large cairn T of the central group. Round this cairn L, which is still very large and contains its passage and chambers, are grouped four smaller ones in more or less dilapidated condition. Cairn H⁹ [in which the bone blades were found] lies to the west, just 16½ yards from L. It was 18 yards in diameter, 5 to 6 feet high and roofless except for 6 overlapping or corbelled stones over the west and north chambers. The chambers are arranged in a cruciform shape, the overall length of the passage being 23 feet. Five of these stones are carved . . . one of these in the south chamber.

* With Plate C and five text figures

'Chiefly in the southern chamber and about the entrance to it, for the most part imbedded in wet stiff earth although the weather had been previously very fine' says Conwell, he found the 5,000 'blade' fragments and with them the

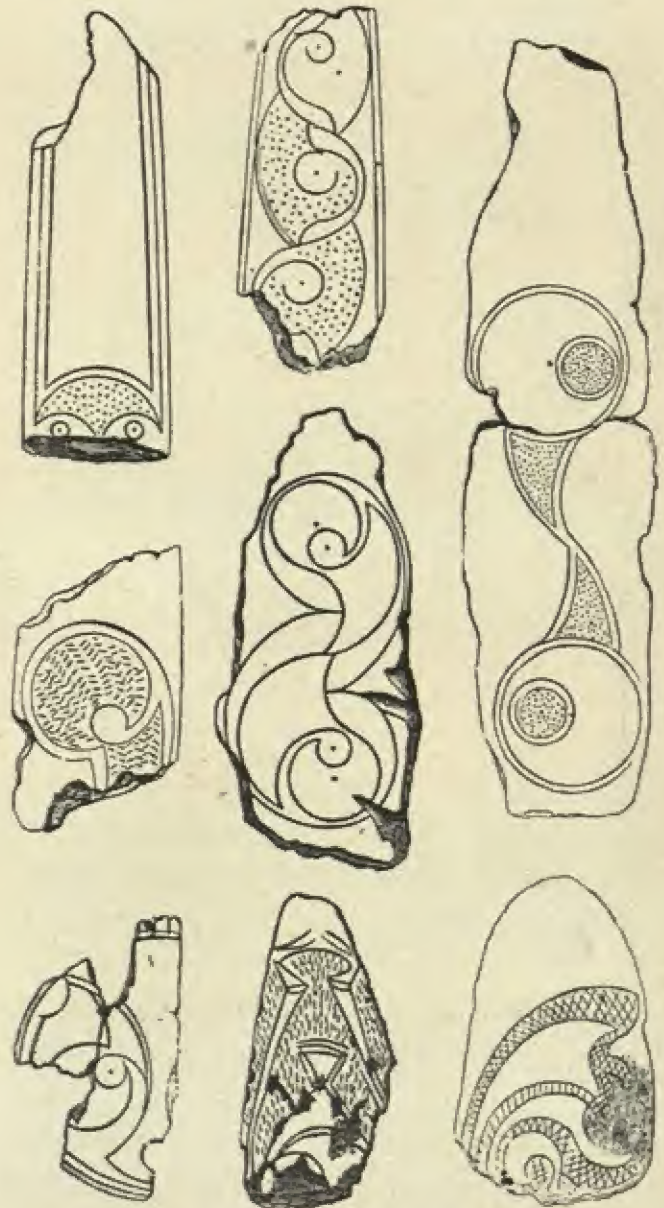


FIG. 1. FRAGMENTS OF ENGRAVED BONE OBJECTS FROM LOUGHCREW

Actual size: the fragment at bottom left is part of a comb; see note 12

heads of ten small bone combs minus their teeth, seven of them being engraved. He left only rough records of stratification. He says the chambers and passage were filled

with loose stones and earth 'for the top $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet.' The passage for the remaining three feet to the bottom was 'completely packed with bones in a fragmentary state, nearly all showing evidences of having been burnt.' With them were small fragments of quartz. He enumerates 300 human bones or parts of them. The three chambers he describes as being 'filled with an indiscriminate mixture of stones, broken bones and soft stiff retentive earth.'

Of these bone 'blades,' he found, 'chiefly in the southern chamber' nearly 5,000 fragments, of which 100 were still perfect in form, of various shapes and sizes, upwards of 500 of them 'ornamented by fine transverse parallel lines.' Seventy-three were engraved (twelve on both sides). He also found two blade fragments in the loose stone filling of Cairn L.¹⁰



FIG. 2. ENGRAVED BONE OBJECTS FROM LOUGHCREW

Scale: two-thirds actual size: see note 12

Dr. Raftery found a further 3,000 fragments in his re-excavation of Cairn H in 1943, of which 300 bore some ornament.

Conwell reported the bone 'blades' and other finds to the British Association in 1870,¹¹ and exhibited some of them at that body's meeting at Liverpool. He took a box of the human bones to London for examination by Professor Owen, leaving them at the Anthropological Society's rooms there. They were never examined by anyone. When Conwell, in despair of any report, asked for the return of the box, the only result was a statement that it could not be traced!

Description of the Objects

Attention in the past has been mainly focused on the engraved 'blades' because of their ornamentation. Interesting, indeed fascinating, as this is, one must remember that

there are only a few thus adorned compared with the large number which are perfectly plain. The engraving does not seem to afford any clue to the purpose of the objects.¹²

The general shape of the blades is that of a long narrow leaf, varying in the case of the engraved specimens from 8.7 cm. to 14 or 15 cm. in length, 1.9 cm. to 5 cm. in greatest width and 2 to 6 mm. in maximum thickness. The dimensions of those which are unornamented vary in almost every combination of proportions from 23 cm. \times 1.5 cm. \times 7 mm. to 5.7 cm. \times 1.5 cm. \times 2 mm. One example of the first stage of rough shaping is 8 mm. thick, 3.8 cm. wide and was probably 17 or 18 cm. long, but the great majority, when complete, probably fell between 10 and 13 cm. in length. The maximum was possibly 19 cm. \times 3 cm. \times 8 mm.

One edge is often more curved than the other, and one end more rounded than the other. In some of the very thin specimens the narrow end is tapered to a very fine point. The cross-section varies from slightly concavo-convex through plano-convex to double convex in differing degrees of curvature. In a number of cases the thickest part is nearer to one edge. Most, if not all, of them have been polished, many of them to a very high degree; some are warped and irregular, possibly owing to the damp soil.¹³



FIG. 3. BONE TANG (LEFT) AND FISH-TAIL PIECE

About three-quarters actual size

It is not possible to estimate with any degree of accuracy how many complete 'blades' are represented, because the size of the fragments varies so greatly. One might hazard 6 or 10 fragments to a blade as an average, but naturally any calculation would be upset if, as is quite possible, only one or two fragments of some 'blades' have survived.

The edges of many were originally brought to a fine edge, although there are some which, though thin, have rounded edges. On a careful examination of the edges it is possible to detect on one or both a slight flattening¹⁴ for short lengths, while there is also evidence of friction transversely from the edge across the side from definite points. These flats and evidences of transverse friction are more marked on the unornamented pieces. In one or two of the engraved pieces the surface, though still highly polished, has evidently sustained considerable wear, so much so that in one case the half of a symmetrical design on the broader end has become hardly discernible.

As Conwell noticed, there are bands of short fine parallel lines, which have nothing to do with the ornament, on a large number of the pieces, both engraved and plain. These bands run longitudinally; they resemble in fineness the milling on the edge of a coin though there are at least

five different degrees of coarseness. The distance between the lines is often very regular. The band varies from 7 to 9 mm. wide, both the bands and the lines themselves gradually becoming fainter and shallower at each end and not ending abruptly.

A small proportion of the 'blades' have been pierced near one end by a hole bored from each side, or sometimes apparently sawn. There was no sign of wear round the edges of these holes. On the edge of one fragment is a semi-circular notch, round which the very skilfully engraved design has been carefully fitted. Amongst the fragments are several which do not seem to belong to the same class of implement. One of these is a piece of fairly thick polished bone fashioned into a tang, whilst another, also finely polished and engraved, ends in a fish-tail shape (fig. 3). Another piece has a half-round band in relief accompanied by two fine parallel engraved lines, both band and lines tapering away to nothing at the end (fig. 4), while there are two rather beak-like fragments one surface of which is worked into a well defined central ridge also fading away into the point (fig. 5).

The 'blades' are probably made from ox bones, some perhaps from the ends of rib bones, but the majority were more probably shaped from the solid parts of the long

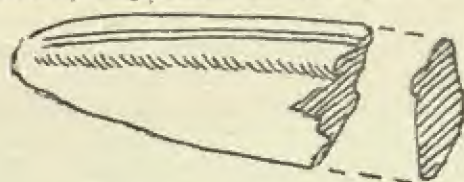


FIG. 4. BONE FRAGMENT, LOUGHCREW

About actual size

bones of the legs, for in no other way could a blade be made which showed no cancellous tissue at ends or sides.

The engraved ornament, so varied in design from the simple repetition of small circles surrounding central dots to elaborately graceful 'trumpet' motives, from 'engine-turned' shading to a crude but clear engraving of a deer, and ranging also in skill from the very crudest to the astonishingly perfect, would need a paper to itself. The engravers often used a small pair of compasses¹⁵ which were very efficient, but either they had the knowledge and dexterity to connect into continuous curves of great beauty successive short arcs of circles of differing radii and centre positions, or else they were capable of engraving these free-hand.

Discussion

There have been tentative suggestions as to the purpose of these implements. Conwell himself thought that they had been used in weaving by women. He also compared them in shape to Scandinavian flint knives in the Royal Irish Academy collection.

Dr. Graves, who examined the engraved examples very carefully at the time they were found, called them 'knives' and thought that those with holes were intended to be slung to the person, the others worn in a sheath. He also

threw out the suggestion that each example belonged to an individual cremated at the cairn. On the other hand, he also advances the theory, because of their association with ornamental bone combs and beads, that the 'knives' belonged to women and were possibly used for skinning animals.¹⁶ But there are very few which have been perforated, and the holes show no sign of rubbing from a cord or sinew, while the operation of preparing skins would tend to round the edges but not to flatten them. Furthermore, there were not multiple burials in these passage-graves so far as we know, nor is it easy to conceive how there could be large companies of women on that site either weaving or preparing skins.

The engraved pieces were also held to be the trial pieces, specimens for reference, or discards of an engraver's workshop. This does not explain the careful shaping and polishing nor the sharp edges and points, none of which would be necessary for this purpose. It has also been suggested that, as combs and 'swords' are used in primitive weaving, these implements may have served that purpose. But the combs used in weaving are long-handled and substantial while those from Loughcrew are small, thin and quite unsuited for weaving. The 'blades' might possibly have been used to tap the cross threads of the woof into place.

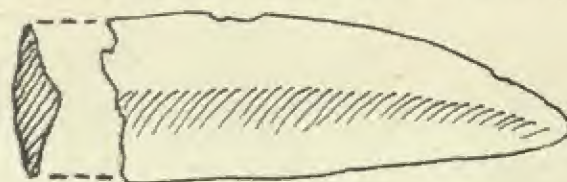


FIG. 5. BONE FRAGMENT WITH CENTRAL RIDGE, LOUGHCREW

About actual size

This might explain some of the transverse wear, but here again the result would not be the flattening of the edge.

It is impossible, as the site of the finds is on the top of an isolated ridge in an inland position, that they can be in any way connected with net-making.

The shape is not unlike that of the 'bullroarers' of the Australian (and other) natives which, attached to cords and whirled round the head, made a loud distinctive noise to warn women from approaching men's ritual celebrations. Some of these are ornamented on their sides.¹⁷ They, however, are much bigger and are usually of wood, and while it is true that some few of the Loughcrew 'blades' are perforated in the right place, they are in such a minority that this idea cannot be sustained.

The fact of the flattening of parts of the edges and of the evidence in some cases of crosswise wear argues for a functional purpose.

The answer to the problem must account not only for their shape, material, condition and period, but for the very large number found together and for the fact that they are confined to the single group of cairns in these islands and almost entirely to one small chamber in one cairn.

Notes

¹ The objects formed the subject of a paper by H. S. Crawford, *J. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, Vol. LVI (1925), pp. 55ff.

² On a ridge culminating in the hills of Carnbane, Slieve na Caillighe (904 feet) and Patrickstown.

³ This is stated by John Cooke in the revised edition (p. 102) of Wakeman's *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, but no trace of any report can be found in the *Proceedings* of that Society.

⁴ *Proc. R.I.A.*, I Ser. II, No. 6, p. 355.

⁵ Through McGlashan & Gill, Dublin, 1873.

⁶ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland*, Vol. XXVII (1892-1893), p. 294, illustrated article by Dr. W. Frazer.

⁷ See also the same *Journal*, 1914, p. 161.

⁸ Conwell prepared a plan on which he distinguished the cairns by letters.

⁹ Dr. Joseph Raftery, Acting Keeper of Irish Antiquities, National Museum, Dublin, completely re-excavated the cairn in 1943. His report is awaited with great interest.

¹⁰ E. C. Rotherham found a further specimen in Cairn R2 together with bone pegs, stone pendants and beads. *J.R.S.A.I.*, 1895, p. 311.

¹¹ *Report of the British Association*, 1870, p. 146.

¹² Illustrating these notes are reproductions (figs. 1 and 2) of woodcuts of some of the ornamented specimens. These woodcuts were prepared for the Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, shortly after the discovery, and appeared in Conwell's pamphlet as well as in the *Proceedings* of the Academy. Drawings of others will be found in Crawford's paper.

¹³ Conwell, in *Proc. R.I.A.*, Ser. II, No. 6, p. 363, says that some were 'in a state as soft as cheese.'

¹⁴ On the photograph showing the fragments which I have numbered 66-76 (Plate C), the white dotted lines indicate where this edge-flattening occurs.

¹⁵ Conwell's surmise that a rusted iron object was the leg of a pair of compasses has been recently proved by the National Museum, Dublin, to be incorrect.

¹⁶ *J.R.S.A.I.*, 1925, p. 18.

¹⁷ Cf. illustration in L. Adam, *Primitive Art*, Pelican Books, 1940, p. 120.

TECHNIQUE AND THE TIME FACTOR IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION*

by

ADRIAN DIGBY

12 For many years social anthropology, especially under the leadership of the functional school, and technology have been drifting apart. Sociologists with a welter of closely integrated and often tangled data before them have fallen back on specialization as a remedy for their difficulties and to some extent jettisoned material culture as being of least value for their schemes. The material-culture people, mostly curators of museums whose primary concern is with classification and identification, have specialized more and more in what may be termed the comparative anatomy of artifacts without paying sufficient attention to how they are used and how they work. Such information as they have collected is of great interest in itself and the collection of it should be encouraged, but it is most unfortunate that in so few cases is the study of material directed along a course which will provide useful data, not only for further technological study, but also for other branches of anthropology. We should study tools and techniques as physiologists, not merely as anatomists, for there is a close relation between the way people satisfy their needs in life and their social organization. If we do not know all the details and demands of the technical processes of a people, how can we reach a true understanding of their social organization?

We can assume that the activities of a community, non-literate or literate, are fully taken up in satisfying a number of needs which are all necessary parts of the daily life of that community. They may be divided into (i) food, (ii) clothing, (iii) housing, (iv) fuel, (v) social integration for the distribution of the results of labour and for security,

* This article was read as the opening paper in a discussion in Section H of the British Association, meeting at Brighton in September, 1948. Some account of the succeeding papers and discussions will follow in a subsequent issue of MAN.

and (vi) social integration for emotional and intellectual satisfaction, including marital ties, religion and relaxation. The relative importance of these six factors will vary partly according to the psychology and aptitude of a tribe, and partly according to their historical background and cultural connexions. But whatever the relative importance of these factors, the growth of one factor in importance, or in time taken, will tend to be at the expense of other factors.

It is probably not fortuitous that in the case of one class of nomadic food-gatherers and hunters, the Australian aborigines, there is little time spent on the construction of shelters or clothing, but a great deal on hunting and on ceremonial. It is not only that they have not the technical ability to build houses and make elaborate clothing; not only that their migratory habit precludes a multitude of possessions; but hunting and food-gathering, one of the slower methods of producing nourishment, and the elaborate rituals which provide emotional and religious satisfaction (and are also incidentally concerned in part with food-production), leave relatively little time for the satisfaction of other needs. Food-production is the first charge on a people's activity, whether the technique be practical and material, or magical.

Let us take by contrast the Maya, who from the time of the Old Empire down to the present day have used a system known as milpa cultivation, which is only a New World variant of 'jhumming' applied to maize-cultivation. I do not propose to analyse the technique, but to quote the findings of a research by Dr. Morris Steggerda, who has shown that the modern Maya, devoting 190 days a year to the production of maize from a 10-acre milpa plot, produces twice as much maize as is required by a normal family of five and has 175 days available for other activities—(ii) to (vi) of my list of needs. The actual figures are:

Total annual production per 10-acre plot	168 bushels
Average daily human consumption per family of five	6.55 lb.
Average daily consumption per family by domestic animals (pigs, goats, dogs, cats, poultry, horse, and occasional cow)	3.25 lb.
Total	9.8 lb.
	=64 bushels per year
Surplus for trade	104 bushels per year

Now these figures are based on a study of the modern Maya, who would be using steel tools instead of stone, used by the ancient Maya, who otherwise employed similar methods. Unfortunately we do not know the relative times taken with stone and steel tools for felling jungle, but, while it would be considerably greater with stone, we must not overestimate the total time spent on maize-production, because felling trees and digging are only part of the agricultural activities. But even if we assume that the sum total of the time of agricultural activities was increased by fifty per cent., this would be practically balanced by absence of domestic animals. We can therefore assume that the ancient Maya, by working 190 days a year, could feed themselves and have a surplus for non-food-producing members of the community.

What did they do with the remaining 175 days? In matters of everyday life they built simple wooden dwelling houses and had developed the textile and ceramic arts to a high degree. Their stone tools were of first-class workmanship, and, towards the end of the so-called New Empire, they became skilful metal-workers. On a larger scale they built the remarkable ceremonial centres such as Copan and Tikal, to mention but two examples, with their pyramidal structures requiring vast quantities of labour. Their intellectual achievement can be measured by the truly amazing astronomical and mathematical knowledge displayed in their inscriptions. From archaeological material, and from the manuscripts of the later Maya, we have been able to piece together a crude picture of their life and religion, but little of their social organization. Their religious ceremonies were elaborate and much time was devoted to preparing for them.

Bishop Landa listed fifteen major ceremonies, which I have classified as follows:

General religious purposes	3
Calendrical purposes	2
Success in war	1
Agriculture	2
Bee-keeping	2
Hunting and fishing	3
Medical purposes	1
Pleasure and diversion	1

These figures give us a rough indication of the relative importance of their various activities, and, taken with the time absorbed by manufactures, go far to account for the time not devoted to food-production.

Of their social and political organization we can say that it seems probable that they dwelt in a series of independent communities grouped round the ceremonial centres and governed by a theocracy of the priestly astronomers and mathematicians. There must also have been a merchant class trading with distant cities. The majority, the

common people, were probably peasant farmers. Others were artisans of various kinds. By a system of casting horoscopes the occupation of each child for life was determined at birth—a divinely sanctioned direction of labour which might excite the admiration of our modern totalitarianisms and bureaucracies.

But the fundamental point we must not overlook is that if more time had been required for food-production, the other developments, whether beneficial or otherwise, could not have occurred. Similarly, greater or less stress on any of the other aspects of their culture would have had a major effect on their culture as a whole. I have taken agriculture as my main example because it is better documented and the effects of different methods can be seen more clearly. It is, however, equally applicable to any other productive occupation. As far as I am aware, no anthropological monograph yet published, except perhaps that by Dr. Steggerda quoted above, includes a detailed study of any technique with any estimate of the time involved in relation to production and social organization.¹

Various writers have obviously recognized the relation between technique and production but they have not followed up the implications. Professor Fürer-Haimendorf, in his excellent paper on the Apa Tanis of the Subansiri District of Assam, writes of these people, who are desperately short of land: 'Only by the most intensive and skilful working of the available land can the Apa Tanis maintain themselves in an area where one square mile of land, comprising gardens, groves and pastures, must provide the subsistence for at least 1,000 persons, or roughly speaking 200 families.' Here is a most interesting case where scarcity of land becomes the major factor; but at the same time, he says, the Apa Tanis 'despite the scarcity of land, and lack of animal traction and ploughs, have advanced beyond the stage of subsistence, every man produces more than he consumes, and the balance can be spared for feeding craftsmen and those engaged in social and political leadership, and exported in exchange for luxury articles or services such as the herding of cattle and pigs by neighbouring tribes.' Unfortunately the writer did not have the opportunity of collecting data as to man-days, labour in relation to production, and the dietetic and other requirements of the tribe. These figures, together with a detailed account of the techniques involved, would have made a most interesting comparison with Dr. Steggerda's figures for the Maya, where the land shortage was not acute, if it existed at all.

I think I have quoted enough examples to support in general terms the validity of my assumption of the six needs of man, and the competition between the needs which compel men to work, though it is impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule for lack of data, especially from the quantitative point of view.

When we turn from agriculture to the technique of other industries the data are even scantier. In the case of weaving an interesting study presents itself in the comparison of two types of loom from West Africa. On the one hand there is the wide loom kept in tension by a broad strap which is used by the women, and on the other the narrow frame loom, with pedal-operated heddles, worked by men and

weaving a cloth not more than four inches wide. The former requires a very long needle-like shuttle and long slow movements of the arm, while the working of the latter is a very rapid succession of short movements. We know little about the amount of cloth measured in square feet per man-hour, what proportion of the daily life is devoted to weaving by either sex or even how much cloth is produced. There is no apparent physiological reason why there should be this differentiation between the use of the two machines by the different sexes, and the reasons may be psychological or historical. But whatever their origins it is difficult to see properly how the two methods of weaving fit into the social and economic organization of the people without figures of production, though it is obvious that they must both play their parts, and may both play a considerable part in shaping the 'non-material' life of the people. Lack of data relating to time, labour and production is again our stumbling block.

In general a new tool is bound to bring many, though in some cases very small, changes in economic organization. I may mention a few of the more obvious possible changes by way of illustration. A new tool, by its superiority to existing equipment, may create a demand which can only be satisfied by some departure from traditional practice. We have the example before us of the value set on iron nails and fragments of hoop-iron by the stone-using Polynesians in the early nineteenth century and the prostitution of their women to the crews of European ships in order to obtain them. Again, the greater ease of production may flood the market, and the social prestige attached to the possession of articles, formerly scarce, will be invalidated, or the new technique may lead to increased trade with other tribes and a consequent change of activities resulting from the new situation. The total output of a particular article made by a new method may be restricted by bottlenecks in the supplies of raw materials produced by a less advanced technique. The suggestion here is that either fewer people will be able to indulge in the manufacture of this particular article, leading to specialization, and to all the consequences of special rewards to the specialist in terms of prestige and material advantages, or less time will be spent by the whole community, so allowing more time for other activities.

Of course, purely economic or social factors as well as psychological will play their part in guiding any economic and social changes resulting from changed techniques, but except in rare cases it is unlikely that they can invalidate them.

In the realm of pure anthropology I think considerable advances can be made by attempts to correlate not so much particular institutions with differing techniques, but the cultural needs of the people as a whole with the technical means of satisfying them and the time involved.

In the realm of applied anthropology the need for the study of techniques in relation to the speed of production and social pattern is perhaps even more applicable. The impact of Western civilization on primitive communities has two aspects, the social, in which I include differing ideas of religion, ethics, law and order; and the material, in which I include all technical and mechanical devices, differ-

ing means of production and differing material objects, which add to the wants of a people. Many historical examples suggest that the material tends to be adopted far faster than the social, but the indirect impact of Western civilization on the social side through material objects is none the less great and takes two forms: (i) the creation of new demands by the introduction of undreamed-of goods; (ii) the means of satisfying many demands old as well as new when the right kind of new apparatus is used.

As an example of the latter case I quote another example from Dr. Fürer-Haimendorf, who observed that in 1944 and 1945 hundreds of Apa Tanis worked for the Government as porters and were mainly anxious to buy white machine-made cotton cloth, because by working for ten days a man could purchase four cloths, while a woman takes about the same time to weave one, although, as he also observed, one Apa Tani cloth would outlast more than four machine-made cloths. The consequent upheaval in daily life of this or similar introductions is obvious, and should be noted by both the administrator and the anthropologist studying acculturation. We cannot expect to influence social or economic organization among primitive peoples with any certainty without a knowledge gathered from other fields of the effects of different techniques on similar organizations.

In conclusion I think that the unfortunate centrifugal tendencies of our science which I mentioned earlier should be remedied if possible, and I believe the link is to be found in the time factor as applied to the study of all productive techniques and the labour forces available. Owing to the lack of data applying to the various techniques, long known to anthropologists, which I have cited, I am unable to carry the few examples which I have suggested to their logical conclusion and to give concrete examples of the precise degree to which the social side of life is in fact modified by any of them. I must plead, therefore (and this is the real point of my paper), for the careful study by fieldworkers of technical processes with reference especially to the time and labour taken, and to the relative time taken for the satisfaction of the six needs I outlined at the beginning of my paper. Research on these lines would, I believe, not only help towards curing some of the centrifugal tendencies of our science, but also provide a new starting point for future developments, theoretical and practical. It might well be applied to European peasant cultures and perhaps even to the study of our own rapidly changing mechanized civilization. It is a truism that each new invention designed to meet a particular need has unsuspected effects spreading to many aspects of our daily life. I once heard it said that the anthropologist should be the liaison officer of science. This is not a very far-fetched idea. Anthropology should be the bridge between the technical and social sciences—not the valley between them.

Note

¹ My attention has since been drawn to Raymond Firth's *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy* (1946), which contains a careful analysis of net-making technique and net-utilization. This should be mentioned in fairness to him, but the need for more time-and-motion detail remains.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

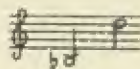
The Trumpets of Tut-ankh-amen and their Successors.

13 By Professor Percival R. Kirby. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 13 April, 1948

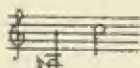
In February, 1933, Professor Kirby visited Cairo, and, in the Royal Egyptian Museum, sounded for the first time since their discovery the two trumpets of Tut-ankh-amen. He found them to be just over half a yard in length, the silver one being rather longer than that of the copper. The bores of the tubes were slightly conical, and fitted with conical 'flares' at the wider ends. The narrower ends were turned over rings of wire, thus forming rudimentary mouthpieces. Separate mouthpieces were absent. Each instrument contained a painted wooden core, which served to keep it in shape and to prevent it from being damaged.

Holding them in the manner familiar to students from the numerous Egyptian representations of the instrument, and blowing them trumpet-wise, Professor Kirby was able to elicit from each instrument, with comparative ease, two sounds an octave and a third apart, as follows:

Copper trumpet:



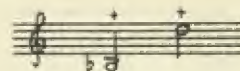
Silver trumpet:



the lower sound having a veiled or muffled quality and the higher having a true, ringing trumpet tone. With considerable difficulty a third sound, two octaves above the lower of the above two, could be elicited from each instrument.

In 1936 Professor Kirby was in Paris, and while there examined the Roman-Egyptian trumpet in the Louvre. Although the instrument was not playable, owing to the seam in the tube having opened, he observed that the length was similar to that of the Cairo specimens, and the bore was identical. The 'flare,' however, was developed into a regular 'bell,' but the narrow end of the tube lacked the ring which was characteristic of the Tut-ankh-

amen trumpets. He had a replica made in Florence, which, when blown without a regular mouthpiece, yielded the same pair of notes as the copper specimen in Cairo had done three years previously, though at a slightly higher pitch, thus:



Professor Kirby demonstrated to the audience the sounds producible from these instruments on a facsimile of the copper instrument of Tut-ankh-amen, and on his copy of the Louvre specimen. He then traced the history of the Ancient Egyptian trumpets through the descriptions of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, Victor Loret and Curt Sachs. He showed that both Loret and Sachs were in error in assuming that a separate mouthpiece was an essential part of the instruments, and demonstrated how more primitive types, such as the ram's horn of the Hebrews (*shofar*) were blown in similar fashion without regular mouthpieces.

He then dealt with the B.B.C. broadcast of 1939, in which, by the application of a modern trumpet mouthpiece to the specimens, an entirely erroneous idea of these Egyptian instruments was given to the world, and he illustrated this point by a recording of the actual broadcast, and by repeating what had been played upon the facsimile of the copper trumpet fitted with a regular mouthpiece.

According to him, the military signals of the Egyptian army must have consisted of rhythmical calls upon one, or at the most two notes. This suggestion was emphasized, he said, by the description of the manufacture and use, in the tenth chapter of the Book of Numbers, of the two silver trumpets (*chatzotzerah*) by Moses.

Professor Kirby finally connected these Ancient Egyptian instruments, through the Hebrews, with the two trumpets seen in the hands of the Roman soldiers on the occasion of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, so graphically depicted on the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum.

SHORTER NOTES

Popular Art in Portugal. Communicated by Mrs. Barbara Aitken

14 On July 15, 1948, the Museum of Portuguese Popular Art was opened in Lisbon, on the site of the Centro Regional at the Portuguese World Exhibition, 1940, after many years of preparatory work by Senhor Antonio Ferro. This Museum is intended not only to record and preserve the achievements of popular art but also to inspire modern production on traditional lines.

International Conference on Rural Architecture, Budapest,

15 May, 1949. Summary of a communication received from E. Foundoukidis, Secretary-General, Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires

The International Conference on Rural Architecture, which was to have been held in Budapest from 9 to 16 October, 1948, will now take place there from 10 to 18 May, 1949. The agenda as

published in No. 1 (July, 1948) of the C.I.A.P. Information Bulletin remains unchanged, and is as follows:

- (1) General principles and methodology of ethnological research in the field of rural architecture.
- (2) Migration and adaptation of forms, techniques and materials of traditional habitation.
- (3) Problems of conservation of specimens of traditional architecture *in situ*, and according to the 'Skansen' principle.
- (4) Traditional architecture and furniture: their evolution and possibilities considered from the point of view of the requirements of contemporary living conditions and the reconstruction of war-devastated countries.
- (5) The programme for the future work of the fourth section of the C.I.A.P. (habitation, work, technology).

Further information may be obtained from M. Foundoukidis, C.I.A.P., Palais de Chaillot, Paris 16^e.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Hobhouse Memorial Lectures, 1930-1940. *Oxford University Press, 1948. Price 10s. 6d.*

16 Few teachers of his generation had a greater influence than Leonard Hobhouse, on his contemporaries as well as on pupils. These annual lectures illustrate this in the utterances of his friends, and bring out the characteristic features of his own thought, as well as the lines of enquiry which he suggested to them. Their great variety is itself a testimony to his originality.

J. A. Hobson deals with the trend 'towards Social Equality,' in a vivid historical survey since mediaeval times and traces its economic causes, especially the growing appreciation of money values in society. As in early Greek society, 'money makes the man' and accounts for the rise of 'snobishness' in the last century. It permits finer graduation and swifter changes, and increases the importance of modern means of education. War comradeship is another leveller; its effects on personality are not yet clear. For Hobhouse the problem was to convert the 'game of life' into a 'game of living.'

C. S. Myers sets forth the 'Absurdity of any Mind-Body Relation,' in the presence of the identity of that which we distinguish as Matter and Mind. All conscious self-activity is self-activity of which conation gives us experience; and ideas are interactions between higher and lower levels of mental activity.

J. L. Hammond makes a powerful plea for 'Common Enjoyment.' There is a risk of learning becoming too common, as in the Roman Empire; but the process is not continuous; and modern culture now depends more on arts of enjoyment than on arts of production.

K. Mannheim distinguishes the 'Rational and Irrational Elements in Contemporary Society,' which has reached a turning point. Society must break down unless the disproportion between them is eliminated, that is, by making rational control keep pace with the rationality of technique and industry. Moreover, only minorities are fully rationalized; and there is risk that the majorities may be perpetuated. Restraints are the democratization of the masses, and the interdependence of forces in the modern world. Consequently the problem can be controlled, by an exact psychology and a sociological approach, and broken up into situations and conditions. The distinction between 'substantial' and 'functional' rationality (directed to a given end) emerges: modern man is now constantly compelled to the latter, and consequently to self-realization. But the growth of power, through control of nature, has given a new function to planning, and emphasized the contrast between private and public morality, and especially between community morality and international relations. 'Machiavellism' goes back into remote antiquity, and was unrestrained in the ancient world. In the modern world, 'who is to plan those who will plan society?' And will they plan for power or for righteousness?

Morris Ginsberg discusses the 'Unity of Mankind' in its various aspects—race unity, unity as interdependence, as a process of unification, the unity of sociological laws, unity of purpose. The recent notion of self-direction is a ground of hope, and may be a turning point. Faith in the unity of mankind must rest on faith in the unity of human reason.

G. Dawes Hickes reviews Hobhouse's contribution to philosophy, especially his criticism of Lotze, but notes some qualifications. While the individual mind is fitted—as Wordsworth says—to the external world, 'the External World is fitted to the Mind.'

J. L. Stocks analyses 'Materialism in Politics,' in relation to democracy, and to social history. He regards materialism in all its forms as false, for its theory of the world does not make sense. There is always a higher formation factor at work on which growth and development wholly depend.

R. H. Tawney makes a valuable analysis of the 'Economics of Public Education,' in historical retrospect. Education being the process of preparing the citizen-to-be to make full use of his capacities, for a limited life career, the cost of it cannot be estimated on any shorter range or objective. Physical training, medical aid, and

mental supervision have to be considered together, and the varying proportion of the population who are affected in any generation. It is an 'investment in human beings,' and a remark at Geneva is recalled: 'Yes, we are a very poor nation: we have to spend liberally on education.' Examples are Scotland, Prussia and Denmark, to the shame of wealthy England. Objectively considered, the preparation of the young for life is among the greatest of common interests.

Arnold Toynbee, in a sketchy lecture dated May, 1939, analyses the 'Downfalls of Civilizations,' and seems to look forward to a higher synthesis on the lines of a Church. But the great longevity of 'higher religions' such as those of Osiris and Tammuz proves little on an actual time scale. The Crucifixion is 'perhaps the latest historical event of enduring significance.' But if 'the Church is the heir of the civilizations'—what Church?

H. J. Laski sets the 'Decline of Liberalism' in its historical setting. This philosophy represents the complex trends of economic and political thought in the last century, but its work was done with the political emancipation of the industrial middle class, and it went on the defensive against the industrial lower classes when they tried to practice liberalism.

This is a most valuable symposium of recent sociological thought.
JOHN L. MYRES

Economic Man in Relation to his Natural Environment.

17 By C. Reinold Noyes. *New York (Columbia Univ. Press); London (Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. 2 vols. Pp. xiv, 1444. Price £4 2s. 6d.*

That this book should be sent to MAN for review marks the recognition of anthropology as a science in the same category as psychology and economics. Much of it, indeed, is pure physiology, illustrated by observation of animals and by clinical phenomena. It proposes to supply for economics the same kind of foundations in natural science, as is postulated for politics in Harold Lasswell's book, recently reviewed (MAN, 1948, 153). The author began as a chemist and has ranged widely over biological research in the direction of 'basic human motivation' with new and, in many subjects, revolutionary conclusions as to some major views of human behaviour. Not that the hypothesis, or conclusion, is determinist, though it is only in an appendix (p. 1281) that the 'free will' issue is faced directly: 'we cannot measure, as yet' (p. 1285), but there is 'some other element' (the 'will' proper) which 'tips the balance as between opposing "wills", and produces 'divergent' phenomena; it is 'guided by experience' and enhanced by exercise. 'Thus "know thyself" is a prescription for the exercise of "free will" of the same order as "know thy motor-car" is one for the exercise of control over that complicated mechanism. The idea of "free will" comes to be guided by the recognition of the factors entering conflict' (p. 1286). But there is something that 'wills'; and in H. N. Russell's words: 'among the most obvious and important properties of man is self-determination.'

It is possible, then, to confront the voluminous treatment of 'needs' and 'reactions,' from the 'centripetal transmission of wants from the blood' (ch. 1, sect. A) onwards, without feeling that this is all 'much ado about nothing.' A 'physiological basis' is offered for the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity (p. 3, note): man is an organism; analytical economics can follow the lines of analytical chemistry; it can employ statistics, which 'represent at least approximate uniformity'; but it must be long before it 'can show results of a degree of certainty similar to that shown in the physical sciences' (p. 5): 'we face perhaps greater difficulties.' Economics thus has its biological, technological and sociological branches: and the present work deals largely with the first of these. But in a social animal they overlap, and especially in one which has memory and foresight to correlate past, present and future 'wants,' and relate 'means' to them, which are elicited from the physical environments. We must become accustomed to a 'neurophysiology' of present and future wants, appropriately concerned with the

'prefrontal area.' Involuntarily one recalls Kingsley's 'hippopotamus major.'

So we arrive in ch. 8 at 'hypotheses as to subjective valuation,' the 'place of effort' and 'product, the result of working' (ch. 9) and 'retaining' (ch. 10) which includes what we call 'capital' and the author 'extant product—the result of working and retaining.'

Here ends Vol. I. What follows is highly analytical 'economics,' the determinants of 'real costs' and of an 'order of preference' among wants, with consequent changes in 'real costs' themselves. And the last 400 pages are appendices on what precedes: more physiology of 'certain wants' or natural needs. 'Future wants' are illustrated by 'capitalism in the animal world.' And several 'marginal utility' theories are handled severely in illustration of ch. 8.

Dr. Noyes handles his immense material firmly and clearly. Not everyone will endure to the end; but those who do will return to 'classical' economics chastened and stimulated. The carefully selected 'list of references' is invaluable; and the 'conclusion' (pp. 997-1006) is a helpful supplement to the *credo* of the prologue; especially its final paragraphs on the 'new facts and new phenomena,' which emerge at the social level: 'social man must react also to society—to other men.'

JOHN L. MYRES

The Gate of Horn: A Study of the Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age, and their Influence upon European Thought. By Gertrude Rachel Levy. London (Faber), 1948. Pp. xxxvii, 349, with 32 plates and 123 figures. Price 42s.

Through the Gate of Horn, in the fable, come the dreams that are true; and so comes also, in Miss Levy's suggestive argument, 'a body of related ceremonial customs, which seem, however greatly their significance may have deepened and widened in the early civilizations upon which our own is founded, to have their sources at the very beginnings of discernible human institutions.' For the earliest periods, the evidence is 'the distribution through time and space of individual rites or objects of cult,' for which a common origin is inferred.

This is a vast thesis, and Miss Levy's method is cumulative demonstration. It is not always easy to 'see the wood for the trees,' but at least the path is fairly clear, and her guidance trustworthy among many pitfalls. Naturally the story begins with 'The Cave as Habitation and Sanctuary,' the religious ideas common to modern hunting peoples—and especially the cult of a Mother Goddess, early reinforced by that of a young Son—and the disposal of the dead, as enduring members of the social group. With the domestication of cattle, and pastoral nomadism—still more with the cultivation of cereals—the Mother Goddess assumes new functions, and cave burial unites temple and tomb. It is left open, how much is to be ascribed to contact between cultures, but some notable instances are cited. It must be noted here how greatly the lengthened perspective of early humanity, permitted by recent discoveries of primal phases of physical development, affects these interpretations of the material evidence for a 'new mentality,' which found new functions for the divine consort, when 'seasonal change in the heavens' became an object of observance and cult.

To the cave, too, is now added the cattle byre, as a focus of observance, and therewith the 'need-pillar' which is somehow connected by Miss Levy with its gateway, on the one hand, and with a 'sacred tree' on the other. The crescent—nothing to do with the moon—and the spiral volute come in here too (pp. 99-101). This is hard going—the evidence is mainly from Sumerian seals—and the analysis of proto-Egyptian pastoralism does not bring much help. We seem to have wandered away from the Stone Age mentality. But the Mother Goddess and the Dying God recall us, in Hathor and Osiris; yet the sycamore springs from its own Nilotic root, whether as 'milk-yielding tree' or as the lopped winter refuge of Horus, and birthplace of the Sun.

Sacred stones and trees, fundamental in Mediterranean culture, are but loosely linked with what precedes, and cupola-building with anything in Egyptian architecture (p. 128), harking back rather to Egypt and Iraq. Malta is a good introduction to Atlantic culture, but a weak link with the East; and a rather distant one with Melanesia, whither the survey leads us now. Full use is made here of the

studies of Deacon and Layard which 'supply all that was missing from the deserted monuments of the West,' connect earlier with later Stone Age conceptions, and point forward also to later 'mysteries' (p. 164).

The 'age of inventions' at the end of the Chalcolithic phase is presented as its 'culmination.' The Sumerian *ziggurat* temple 'may have covered a cave or tomb'; the Egyptian pyramid certainly did so; but the analogy with the royal headresses is not pressed so far. Though India and China fall outside Miss Levy's plan, she has room for the New World cultures with their pyramids, monoliths, Earth Goddess, and Maize God, and the Chichimec tradition that 'the focus of their religious life was a cavern.' But 'Peru had no Osiris,' and other omissions might be discerned in this catalogue of 'perversions.' Rather oddly here, 'revolution' is represented by the religion of Israel, wherein simple pastoral origins are the background of a revolt against the 'task of maintaining the equilibrium of seasonal recurrence, and the growth and renewal of man and beast': the whole people, regarded as a single being, stands face to face with a single God, with whom contact becomes ethical, not magical. The important observation that 'the history of Asia is full of revolts against the Stone Age conception of unity, attained through embodiment in ritual' (p. 196), is not followed up, because these others had no direct part in the formation of European mentality; but is this true of Zoroaster? This is regrettable because it might have set Israel in a rather different light. But whatever its objective, Israel was never immune against the 'works of the heathen'—caves, pillars, groves and heavenly bodies, and the persistence of a primitive mentality is illustrated copiously. The religion of rebirth, through the prophets, 'was henceforth inseparable from ethics,' and its mystical elements came not from Syria but from Hellenism, 'the last permanent survival of Stone Age religion in the West' (p. 210).

To this, then, the remainder of the book is devoted; from the 'City-States of the Bronze Age'—a quaint application of that term—to the 'Intellectual Development' in Ionia, Western Greece and Athens.

Though allowance is made for initial exploration of parts of Crete in the Stone Age, the founders of the Minoan culture there are described as coming, some from western Asia Minor, others from Libya, both 'cave-dwellers' but with a 'village capital' which 'at once began to assume the architectural function of a city.' Their cults included cavern, pillar, Goddess (with young companion) and tree, with griffin, sphinx and bull as symbols. For cults of the dead, there is ample pictorial evidence. Here is the Stone Age mentality fully developed. But on the Greek mainland are complications. Much is Minoan, but there are fortified cities, with sacred defences—of which the Walls of Troy are typical—and Miss Levy makes much use here of the 'maze-like dancing grounds' found all over Europe, and attributed also to Crete. This cult of the fortified place, which may be also the home of the deity, is for Miss Levy a much needed link between the pre-Hellenic culture and its successor (p. 259). For, after the destruction of these cities, and much else, by newcomers, 'the Greeks who emerge are a new people' (p. 260). In all this it is not quite clear what the argument is; and the apparition of Aryan language at this point does not simplify. The brief account of the Achaeans is particularly obscure (p. 264). But 'Homer forces out of sight all that is inherited from the Stone Age and therefore incompatible with his humanism' (p. 265): not quite all, however, as funeral customs betray. Epic, however, is 'divorced from ritual,' and even the rather miscellaneous gods of Olympus become 'patterns of humanity upon which the aspiring cities might build their race' (p. 267). But does Homer belong to the 'city-states' (whom he nowhere mentions), or not?

By this time, there is not much left of the Stone Age mentality. But in the enemies of the Olympian gods—the Titans, and other 'earth-born' monsters—Miss Levy finds survivals of the Mycenaean nature divinities; and the 'Dionysian counter-attack' (p. 279), Orpheus, other 'mystery-cults,' and the Attic agricultural festivals preserve pre-Hellenic traditions and outlook. It was these local chthonic cults, this intense religious revival, that 'made Christianity understood and gave it its European form.' But that is 'another story.'

So too the Ionian physicists, when they tried to 'look at the cosmic order without its Gods' (p. 300), confronted the 'world of pre-Olympian dynamism'; and Attic drama is 'wholly conditioned by primitive ritual.' Hero worship 'gave to the famous dead the function of fertility demons.'

Much of all this has been said before, and argued from various points of view. Miss Levy has formed her own opinions, on wide reading and travel. If she does not always convince, it is because the evidence is deficient, and her imagination at times over-ingenious. But this is a book to be considered seriously.

JOHN L. MYRES

A New Theory of Human Evolution. By Sir Arthur Keith. London (Watts), 1948. Pp. x, 451. Price 21s.

19 Since 1908, Sir Arthur Keith has been developing the view that for the transformation from ape to man two conditions were essential; the developing Primate must have formed a social group, and this group must have been separated or isolated. But how was this separation effected? His own contribution is a very important one: that isolation was not by physical barriers of any kind, but by necessities of nascent human nature. Man, the 'social animal,' became so by living in a society: a combination of co-operation with antagonism, a dual code of behaviour within and without the group, giving rise to numerous small communities, related essentially not by common descent, but by mutual interests.

In his *Essays on Human Evolution* (1946) he dealt with some corollaries of this hypothesis: here he has formulated its foundations; and certainly the present work clarifies and consolidates much, and makes the earlier volume well worth re-reading.

The argument is manifold, from physical peculiarities, from the distribution of early forms of men and their handicrafts, from the observed habits of primitive communities, and from the historical behaviour of peoples and nations. Consideration of the 'pedigree' of human and other anthropoids allows a very long period for specific evolution of man, which is confirmed by the geological perspective of the earliest remains. This time range is the more adequate, since evolutionary change is most rapid when the competing units are small and numerous; and especially since speech, the most potent barrier between such units, varies so rapidly as it does.

Interesting examples are given of the group feeling among animals unrelated by blood but confined in the same surroundings, and of their reluctance to admit newcomers. It is Spencer's 'amity' and 'enmity' on the zoological plane, and other anthropologists have described the same antithesis, without perceiving its full significance. Zoologically, it is true, the family is primary; but in all other species the family breaks up when the young can fend for themselves. Even the prolonged infancy of man does not bind parent and child, once separated socially, as modern sociologists are aware. What is fundamental is what Kropotkin called 'mutual aid,' and of this there are rudiments among gregarious animals.

Human evolution, then, 'was, and is, a process of team-production and team-selection.' Quite independently Malinowski's posthumous book, recently reviewed in *MAN* (1948, 59), comes very close to the same position. Once initiated, this trend of nascent human nature became established by its supreme utility to any group that displayed it; and its scope expanded accordingly, in larger and larger groups.

The chapter headings, and the analysis prefixed to each chapter, show how the argument is developed; how morality within the group was—and is—compatible with quite immoral conduct outside it; how isolation and inbreeding, sex-differentiation and fetalization, have contributed to the course of development.

From ch. 22 the point of view changes, to survey the geographical distribution of mankind—with the probability of an African origin—the relation of the primitive community to the village settlement, with the discovery of agriculture, and the subsequent development of cities in the Near East.

Nation-building is earliest illustrated in Egypt, for geographical reasons; and examples are given of national self-determination in Scotland, South Africa, the Irish Free State, among the Jews, in the United States and in British Dominions.

It will be seen that there is here much that is stimulating and suggestive; and not a little that is provocative. But the main thesis seems to stand, and fully justifies the author's long and patient research into the origins of what Linnaeus rightly called *Homo sapiens*.

JOHN L. MYRES

Les Pays Tropicaux: principes d'une géographie humaine et économique. By Pierre Gourou. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1947. Pp. viii, 198, 16 text diagrams and index. Price 180 francs

20 M. Gourou, already well known in the geographical world for his monographs on Indo-China, has now produced this most valuable account of the tropics as a whole. The warm, wet regions cover almost one-third of the habitable surface of the earth; if we omit south-east Asia they support only 8 per cent. of the world's people. The concept of tropical abundance is shown to be illusory; the soils of low fertility, the many diseases of man and beast, the geographical isolation, the practice of shifting cultivation, all result in a low density of population. South-east Asia, her civilization adapting techniques which originated in more temperate latitudes, is the great exception. Even here the annual yield per acre of cereals is less than in temperate lands. So the dense populations of the tropics have, in common with the more primitive shifting cultivators, a low standard of living.

The impact of white peoples, whether as permanent settlers or as plantation-managers, and the effect of the fluctuations of the world market on native economies are carefully examined. It is pointed out that the future of the tropics must lie with the coloured peoples and that the raising of their standard of life will depend on the diffusion of better agricultural methods, particularly the spread of paddy rice to all suitable surfaces.

The work can be read with profit by all students of anthropology, for it provides a wide range of background information presented in a scholarly fashion and written in lucid and unambiguous French.

J. M. MOGEY

Men, Machines and History. By S. Lilley. London (Cobbe Press), 1948. Pp. vi, 260. Price 10s.

21 With one qualification, this is an excellent book. Beginning with first things and a 'first industrial revolution' before 3000 B.C., it traces the principal discoveries, and inventions applying them to practical needs, and goes on to describe 'The First Civilizations' down to 1100 B.C., when the 'democratic metal' iron comes into use. It will already be clear with what grain of sceptical salt these classifications should be seasoned; for the use of iron was never at all so common in antiquity as is suggested, and bronze remained the normal precursor of our brass, and of much besides. In Greek the same word was used for workers of both metals; and there is no evidence for iron-smelting as a 'poor man's' or 'cottage' industry.

The 'Second Industrial Revolution' from 500 B.C. to modern times includes several distinct phases with periods of relapse; so far as it is coherent, it is an age of private capitalism, and a sceptic might turn Mr. Lilley's ideology against himself. The function of slave labour is not clearly explained, nor of serf labour at a later stage; at all but the most laborious tasks, serf or slave worked side by side with freeman; and ancient slavery, like American, was almost excused by dearth of free labour. We have seen the same dearth recently, with the same effect on war captives.

Separate treatment is given to 'Materials, Machine Tools, and Production Methods before 1918,' with great gain of clarity in the main story. The special problems and achievements of the two World Wars have had to be presented very summarily, or there might have been better interconnexion between inventions in different arts; e.g. between motor transport and synthetic rubber.

The 'Retrospect and Summary' and the section on 'Relative Invention Rate' introduce once more, perhaps unavoidably, economic, social, and even political considerations, on which there may be various opinions; and they raise as many questions as they answer. In what sense did iron 'provide the conditions for the use of such machinery as a pulley and the rotary quern'? What is the evidence for the 'slump' between the Athenian fifth century and the

Hellenistic age, which was anything but 'democratic'? Is it true that either dearth of slaves or feudalism stimulated invention of machines? Some of Mr. Lilley's 'general conclusions' may be acknowledged, but others are hardly supported by his data: especially as he eagerly admits that the modern phase is only in its

beginnings. Too much depends, in the diagram on p. 193, on subjective estimates: a cynic might correlate war years, from 1900 to 1948, with outbreaks of inventive progress. And what difference does it make to inventors when the monopolist is the State—as in the Ancient Empires?

JOHN L. MYRES

CORRESPONDENCE

Hallmarks of Mankind. Cf. MAN, 1948, 151 and 1949, 8

22 SIR,—In my review I wrote that Professor Wood Jones's 'illustrations of the supposed normal anatomical relationships in man can be demonstrated to be wrong by the production of one actual specimen after another.' Professor Wood Jones is quite right to demand the production of these specimens. I have a series of twenty of them in my collection. Not one was selected on any other ground than that it was a foetal specimen which might show the premaxillary-maxillary relationships within the nasal fossa (a twenty-first specimen is on loan in the Department of Anatomy at Oxford). Every one of these specimens shows the normal relationships of the nasal process of the premaxilla. In each case the nasal process reaches up to the infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone. In Professor Wood Jones's fig. 17 this process is shown ascending little more than half-way towards the nasal bone. This gives a thoroughly incorrect view of the normal premaxillary nasal



FIG. 1. RELATIONSHIP OF NASAL PROCESS OF THE PREMAXILLA IN A NEGRO FETUS AGED 9.27 MONTHS

relationships, and that is precisely what I meant by my statement. The variability of man is such that I should expect an occasional example of the short nasal process which Professor Wood Jones figures. I have never seen such a case. The specimens I have examined run from 3 to 9.50 months foetal age. I can, therefore, only conclude that Professor Wood Jones's fig. 17 is an illustration of an exceptional case, that the usual relationship is for the nasal process of the premaxilla to ascend up to or immediately within the infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone. I submit (fig. 1) a photograph of a Negro male fetus aged 9.27 months showing the usual relationship of the nasal process of the premaxilla. M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU
The Hahnemann Medical College and
Hospital of Philadelphia

Note

Professor Ashley Montagu's letter has been shown to Professor Wood Jones, who makes the following comments:

"Professor Ashley Montagu apparently bases his charges of inaccuracy upon what he conceives to be the 'normal relationships of the nasal process of the premaxilla.' These normal relationships are, according to him, that the nasal process of the

premaxilla articulates with the infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone. It may be that this is an occasional relationship and, if his photograph of a 9.27 months' fetus is entirely untouched, it is remarkable in the extremely late persistence of any premaxillary suture on the lateral wall of the nasal chamber. But whatever this photograph shows, it does not depict the normal relationships of this process. Callender, who originally called attention to the nasal process of the premaxilla, described and figured it as 'ending above at the ridge for the turbinate bone, part of



FIG. 2. NASAL ASPECT OF THE RIGHT MAXILLA AND PREMAXILLA OF A FETUS AGED 15.5 WEEKS

The upper extremity of the ascending or nasal process of the premaxilla is clearly marked at this stage, and it is far removed from the 'infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone'

which ridge it forms." E. H. Johnson, who has made the most exhaustive researches so far carried out on this subject, states that "in 47 white fetuses not the slightest trace of a suture could be observed extending further than approximately mid-way up the frontal process of the maxilla." The reviewer is therefore perhaps somewhat exceptional in possessing specimens showing so astonishingly vividly suture lines that in fetuses as advanced as his specimens have usually long since ceased to be visible. I enclose an untouched photograph (fig. 2), of an actual specimen from a fetus of 15.5 weeks, an age at which the suture lines can usually be safely interpreted. The limits of the premaxilla in this normal specimen are practically identical with those shown in my stigmatized figure 17.—ED.

The Origin of the Returning Boomerang

23 SIR,—We do not know how the Australian returning boomerang originated, but if it was deliberately invented the inventor must have had some knowledge of aerodynamics and the properties of the top, and it is therefore more probable that it was accidentally discovered. Many discoveries, especially the earlier ones, came about by imitation of nature, and the origin of the returning boomerang may perhaps be found in Australia's distinctive natural history.

The eucalyptus, a specifically Australian tree, has many varieties (*E. robusta*, etc.) with elongated leaves, some with a distinct curve (fig. 1). These leaves frequently have the properties of the

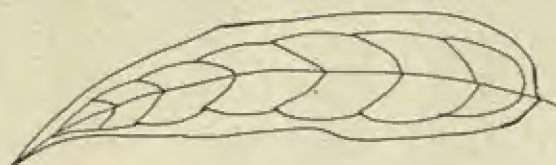


FIG. 1. A EUCALYPTUS LEAF

Scale: half actual size

returning boomerang: when thrown they return to the point of projection. If these leaves did in fact suggest the idea of the returning boomerang, there should be some relation between their respective distributions. The map (fig. 2) shows the areas covered by the



FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTION MAP FOR THE EUCALYPTUS AND THE RETURNING-BOOMERANG CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA

The dotted area represents the open eucalyptus forest; the patched area, the dense eucalyptus forest; and that enclosed within the broken line the returning-boomerang culture, according to Mr. Lenk-Chevitch

'returning-boomerang culture' and by the eucalyptus; it will be seen that this culture is limited to the eucalyptus forests or their immediate vicinity on the east coast. Perhaps we have here the origin of the returning boomerang.

Butembo, Belgian Congo

P. LENK-CHEVITCH

Note

Mr. B. A. L. Cranstone, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, adds the following observations.—ED.

Mr. W. M. Campbell, Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, has kindly sent me leaves of a number of varieties of eucalyptus. One of these, *Eucalyptus robusta*, has the property described by Mr. Lenk-Chevitch. The leaf is too light to be thrown more than a matter of inches, but it flutters to the ground at or behind the thrower's feet; unlike the returning boomerang it rotates on its long axis with an 'over-and-over' movement. The leaves used had become very dry.

It should be pointed out that the returning boomerang is much more widely distributed in Australia than is indicated by Mr. Lenk-Chevitch. To take two examples, T. Worsnop (*The Aborigines of Australia*, 1897, pp. 129f.) reports it from Western and South Australia; and W. E. Roth (*Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, 1897, p. 128) from the Boulia, Cloncurry and Upper Georgina districts of western Queensland. The possibility that it originated in imitation of the 'white gum-tree' leaf was suggested seventy years or more ago by Hubert de Castella, who is quoted by R. Brough Smyth in his *Aborigines of Victoria* (1878), Vol. I, p. 316; and Mr. H. V. V. Noone has pointed out to me that Baldwin Spencer, in the *Federal Handbook* published for the use of delegates to the British Association meeting in Australia in 1914, commented on the 'remarkable resemblance in their general form between the boomerang and the long thin curved leaf' of the eucalyptus.

Pottery Grave and House Ornaments in West Africa

24 Sir,—With reference to Mr. R. T. D. Fitzgerald's account of the funerary pottery of the Dakakari in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXIV (1944), pp. 43-57, your readers may be interested in the enclosed photograph of a pottery house-top ornament collected among the Njei of the



FIG. 1. POTTERY HOUSE-TOP ORNAMENT, FRENCH CAMEROONS

Photograph: Musée de l'Homme

Mandara Hills, French Cameroons, by M. Felix, who has recently presented it to the Musée de l'Homme (No. 49.9.1). Its total height is 47 cm. and its basal diameter 30 cm.

Département d'Afrique noire, DENISE PAULME-SCHAEFFNER
Musée de l'Homme, Paris

Bandarawelian Quartz Implements. Cf. MAN, 1948, 27

25 Sir,—In the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G, Vol. III (1940), Part 1, this fully evolved culture with its geometrical series is said to have seemingly appeared in Ceylon already well developed, and it is interesting to learn from Commander K. R. U. Todd's excellent study of a somewhat similar culture found by him in Mysore, that his conclusions point in the same direction, i.e. towards a probable persistence and development of the Indian microlithic industry as it extended southwards.

Lt.-Col. D. H. Gordon (in MAN, 1938, 19), records the finding of only one arrowhead (Central India) and remarks on the rarity in India of trapezes. Both these advanced types are found in Bandarawela in company with ordinary-sized implements.

Commander Todd suggests the occurrence of the burin as a dating tool, but in the above-mentioned report a find at Bandarawela of over 100 pieces of burin-like form is recorded.

In keeping with the Bandarawelian series of geometrical microliths no 'micro-burins' are recorded by Commander Todd for Mysore, and this indicates that the Indian microlithic industry, like the Ceylon and Australian industries, is 'non-micro-burin-producing.'

London

H. V. V. NOONE



(a) TYPE SKULL, NORMA LATERALIS



(b) TYPE SKULL, NORMA FRONTALIS



(c) ANTERIOR CRANIAL FOSSÆ OF SKULLS
NOS. 1 (above) AND 6

BENGAL SKULLS AT CAMBRIDGE

Photographs by J. A. F. Fozzard

A RARE SUTURE IN THE ANTERIOR CRANIAL FOSSA OF THE HUMAN SKULL*

by

H. BUTLER, M.A., M.B., B.CH.

The Anatomy School, University of Cambridge

Introduction

26 The arrangement of the bones and sutures in the anterior cranial fossa of man is singularly constant and the orbital plates of the frontal bones are always separated by the ethmoid bone anteriorly and, in most cases, by the ethmoid spine of the sphenoid bone posteriorly (fig. 1, A). Examination of the anterior cranial

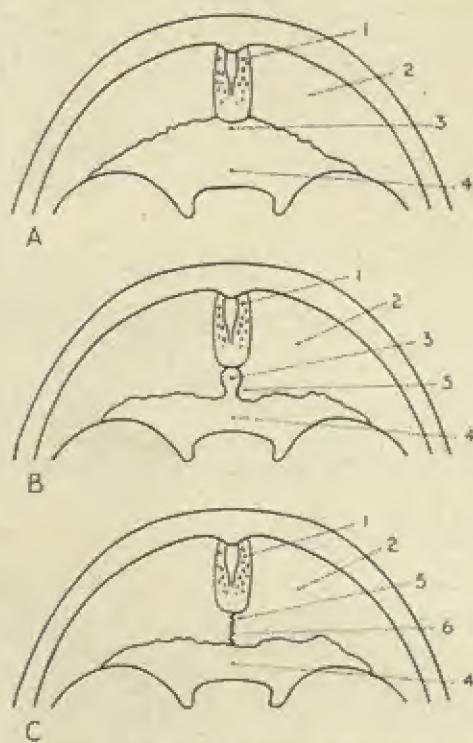


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF SUTURE PATTERNS IN THE ANTERIOR CRANIAL FOSSA

- A. Normal pattern with broad sphenothmoidal suture
 B. Development of ante-sphenoid processes with encroachment on base of ethmoid spine
 C. Meeting of ante-sphenoid processes to form the basal metopic suture
 1. Cribriform plate of ethmoid; 2. Orbital plate of frontal;
 3. Ethmoid spine of sphenoid; 4. Jugum of sphenoid;
 5. Ante-sphenoid process; 6. Basal metopic suture

fossa in a collection of twenty-five human skulls from Bengal shows an unusually large number of specimens in which the ethmoid spine is not so interposed between the posterior portions of the orbital plates. In such specimens the orbital plates of the frontal bones meet in the mid-line to form a suture extending from the posterior border of

the cribriform plate of the ethmoid to the anterior border of the jugum of the sphenoid.

Staurenghi (1896) investigated the frequency and size of medial outgrowths from the medial border of the orbital plate of the frontal bone which project in between the jugum of the sphenoid and the cribriform plate. He named this projection the ante-sphenoid process and found that it was present in sixty-two per cent. of the skulls of Mediterranean races (fig. 1, B). His specimens could be arranged in a series showing a gradual reduction in the distance between the tips of these processes. This led him to search for examples in which the tips of the ante-sphenoid processes met in the mid-line. Among 675 skulls of the Mediterranean races he discovered four such specimens. He named this suture the fronto-basal or basal metopic (fig. 1, C). Le Double (1903) described another specimen and emphasized its rarity in man. W. K. Gregory (1927) showed this suture in the skull of a young man. Wood Jones (1928) pointed out that this suture is very rare in man but is present in all monkeys and anthropoid apes with the exception of the orang-utan in which the suture occurs occasionally.

Description of Specimens

No. 1. The skull of a male aged 25 to 30 years. The jugum of the sphenoid and the cribriform plate are completely separated by broad ante-sphenoid processes of the frontal which meet to form a mid-line suture. The suture is 7 mm. long and is dentate. There is a tiny Wormian bone in the suture. The ethmoid spine is small (see Plate Dc, above).

No. 2. The skull of a child of about 12 years. Broad right and left ante-sphenoid processes project medially, separating the jugum of the sphenoid from the cribriform plate, and form a simple mid-line suture 6 mm. long. The ethmoid spine is suppressed.

No. 3. The microcephalic skull of a female aged about 30 years with a cranial capacity of only 907 cc. Broad ante-sphenoid processes of the frontal bones come into contact slightly to the right of the mid-line forming a simple suture 4 mm. long. There is a small ethmoid spine.

No. 4. The skull of a male aged 25 to 30 years. The ante-sphenoid processes of the frontals meet to form a mid-line suture 5 mm. long. The anterior half of the suture is dentate but there is a long narrow Wormian ossicle in the posterior half which extends backwards into a niche in the anterior border of the jugum of the sphenoid in the position of the normal ethmoid spine.

No. 5. The skull of a male aged about 25 years. The

* With Plate D, a text figure and a table

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS ON 25 SKULLS FROM BENGAL

No.	Sex	Age	Frontal Meeting	Spheno-Ethmoid Meeting	Min. Dist. between Frontals mm.	R. Ante-Sphenoid Process	L. Ante-Sphenoid Process	Cephalic Index	Gnathic Index	Cranial Capacity c.c.
1	♂	25-30	+	-	0	+	+	65	92	1246
2	child	12-14	+	-	0	+	+	81	95	1126
3	♀	30+	+	-	0	+	+	70	101	907
4	♂	25-30	+	-	0	+	+	71	90	1397
5	♂	25	+	-	0	+	+	73	95	1413
6	♀	25-30	+	-	0	+	+	66	98	1033
7	♂	25+	-	+	1.5	+	+	76	97	1196
8	child	14	-	+	2	+	+	67	92	1050
9	♀	25+	-	+	3	+	+	73	99	1167
10	♀	25+	-	+	4	+	+	80	100	1083
11	child	16	-	+	5	+	-	76	98	1196
12	♀	25+	-	+	5	+	+	79	99	1233
13	♂	25+	-	+	6	+	+	70	102	1110
14	♀	25+	-	+	6	+	+	68	95	1216
15	child	18	-	+	6	+	+	69	103	1316
16	child	14	-	+	7	-	-	70	97	1080
17	♀	25+	-	+	9	+	+	81	99	1153
18	child	18	-	+	10	-	-	71	96	1203
19	child	18	-	+	11	-	-	71	107	1113
20	♂	25+	-	+	11	-	-	63	96	1163
21	child	12	-	+	12	-	-	64	95	1180
22	child	12	-	+	13	-	+	70	95	1313
23	♂	25+			Synostosed			64	96	1166
24	♂	25+			Synostosed			69	96	1246
25	♀	25+			Synostosed			67	101	1216

ante-sphenoid processes meet just to the left of the mid-line forming a sinuous suture 7 mm. long. The anterior part of the suture is simple, but the remainder is dentate. There is a small Wormian bone in the anterior part. The ethmoid spine is small.

No. 6. The skull of a female aged 25 to 30 years. The ante-sphenoid processes meet slightly to the right of the mid-line forming a short suture just over 1 mm. long. The suture pattern in the anterior cranial fossa of this skull is asymmetrical with an irregular triangular plate of bone extending posteriorly from the cribriform plate. The ethmoid spine is small. (See Plate Dc, below).

The normal pattern of the sutures is that in which a broad ethmoid spine of the sphenoid is in contact with the posterior border of the cribriform plate and separates the orbital plates of the frontal bones (fig. 1, A). The ante-sphenoid processes of the frontal bones may reduce the size of the ethmoid spine, but it still makes contact with the cribriform plate (fig. 1, B). Mid-line contact between the orbital plates of the frontal bones with maximum development of the ante-sphenoid processes forms the basal metopic suture (fig. 1, C). The gradual convergence of the orbital plates of the frontal bones between the ethmoid and sphenoid bones is indicated in the Table, where the minimum distance between the orbital plates of the frontal bones is recorded. This measurement is made in the interval between the ethmoid and sphenoid bones. Specimen No. 6 (Plate Dc, bottom) shows an early stage in the formation of the suture. Contact between the ante-sphenoid processes is just over 1 mm. in length. The other

specimens, Nos. 1 to 5, show a fully formed suture which is 4 to 7 mm. long extending from the jugum of the sphenoid to the cribriform plate. The suture is either simple or dentate or a mixture of both and in half the specimens a Wormian ossicle is present. The ethmoid spine is either reduced in size or absent.

A study of the other characters of these twenty-five skulls indicates that they form a homogeneous group. The cephalic index ranges from 63 to 81, and nineteen of them have an index below 75. The gnathic (alveolar) index varies from 90 to 107; fourteen skulls have an index below 98 and ten are between 98 and 103. Direct measurements of the cranial capacity, using mustard seed, give volumes of 907 to 1413 c.c. with an average of 1182 c.c. Of the twenty-five skulls twenty-three are microcephalic, i.e. have a cranial capacity below 1350 c.c. The indices and cranial capacities are given in the table.

The teeth are characterized by large size and marked protrusion of the incisors and canines; presence of the third molar in all specimens of sufficient age; signs of attrition of the premolars and molars at an early age; and staining due to the chewing of betel nut. These dental characteristics were of value in sorting these skulls.

In all these skulls the crista galli is large. The anterior cranial fossa appears to be relatively small compared to the other two cranial fossae. The cribriform plate of the ethmoid is deeply sunk between the orbital plates, which have a well marked convex upper surface. The norma lateralis and frontalis of a typical skull show the essential characteristics (Plate Da and b).

Discussion

The basal metopic suture is present in six of twenty-five skulls (twenty-four per cent.). A strict comparison with Staurengli's figure of four in 675 (0.5 per cent.) in Mediterranean skulls is not possible because of the difference in numbers. There is a closer correspondence in the frequency of ante-sphenoid processes in both series, viz. 64 per cent. and 62 per cent. respectively.

In this collection the presence or absence of the basal metopic suture cannot be correlated with sex, age, or cephalic or gnathic index. The main features of the collection are (1) their small cranial capacity, twenty-three of the twenty-five having a capacity below 1350 c.c.; (2) the frequency of ante-sphenoid processes of the frontal bone; (3) the frequency of the basal metopic suture.

Meeting of the orbital plates of the frontal bones between the ethmoid and sphenoid bones to form a basal metopic suture is characteristic of monkeys and anthropoid apes, with the exception of the orang-utan, in which the suture is variable (Wood Jones, 1929; Gregory, 1934; Ashley Montagu, 1943). According to Huxley (1871) and Gregory (1927), the medial expansions of the orbital plates of the frontal bones overlie the primitive spheno-ethmoid junction and do not disrupt it. In these specimens the upper surface of the cribriform plate is in a plane slightly below that of the ante-sphenoid processes and its posterior edge is overlapped from behind. This appearance suggests that the ethmoid does extend posteriorly to make contact with the sphenoid, but it was not possible to disarticulate a specimen to confirm this.

The occurrence of the basal metopic suture is in no way related to the metopic suture of the frontal bone. I suggest that 'ante-sphenoid' or 'post-ethmoid suture of the frontals' is a more suitable term.

Summary

- (1) Six examples of a rare suture in the anterior cranial fossa of Bengal skulls are described.
- (2) It is present in 24 per cent. of the skulls examined, as compared with 0.5 per cent. in Staurengli's collection of 675 Mediterranean skulls.

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank Professor H. A. Harris and Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth for advice and Mr. J. A. F. Fozzard for the photographs.

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RITUALS AND MEDICINES OF CHISHINGA IRONWORKERS

by

W. V. BRELSFORD

27 The Chishinga are a group of Bemba-speaking people about 24,000 strong inhabiting a bushland area midway between Lakes Mweru and Bangweulu in Northern Rhodesia. In the past they were well known as smelters and ironworkers, and neighbouring tribes, especially the Bemba and the lacustrine people from Bangweulu, did an extensive trade with them before the coming of commercial ironwork. The industry practically died out, but during the middle war years, 1941-1944, there was a serious shortage of hoes, the most important tool of native agriculture, and several old iron-workings were revived under Government or Native Treasury subsidy in order to relieve the shortage. Blacksmithing, involving such work as the making of axes from car springs, and the alteration and sharpening of purchased tools, had of course gone on and perhaps increased throughout the previous decades. It was the smelting that had almost become extinct, but there were still to be found, in most of the ironworking tribes, sufficient old men who had the knowledge and skill to be able to revive the dying art. This was so among the Chishinga.

It is my aim in this paper to describe only the rituals,

medicines and charms that I observed and learned at the revived smelters at Chibote in the Chishinga country. The routine, the implements and the methods of iron-smelting are too well known to justify a further description, but I was impressed by the number of charms and medicines that were displayed at various points in the work.

There do not seem to be any legends as to how the art of smelting first began among the Chishinga. It is said that the first blacksmiths put ore in a fire in a hole in the ground and blew the fire with bellows at two opposite sides of the hole. From this primitive beginning the method of building upwards and leaving the hollow clay pipes of the bellows as air holes in a furnace was gradually evolved. There is a story that the Chishinga learned smelting from the Lungu, a neighbouring tribe not particularly famed as smelters, and the earliest workers were Chifita of the snake totem and Maipambe Nkunda of the game totem. Both these totems were represented by workers at Chibote in 1944, and so were the bird, mushroom, and fruit-of-the-mpundu-tree totems. There is no special totem to which ironworkers must belong and in contradistinction to the customs of some other tribes there seemed to be few family

ties between the workers. Fathers often did teach sons and nephews, but also often other boys of no relation. Inheritance of totems is patrilineal among the Chishinga.

Although the industry was a revived one, the hereditary connexions of the craft were still maintained and the workers were insistent that no man could smelt unless his ancestors had been furnace-owners (*bashimalungu*). The *shimachelo* (father of the furnace) at Chibote was Katala who was a *mwainamumba* (fruit-of-the-*mpundu*-tree totem) and he had learned the art from his elder brother. He taught apprentices for nothing, the only personal demands being that they should be of the right ancestry, be husky enough to cut the firewood and have strong enough eyes to stand the glare of the fire; and, of course, the apprentice got nothing from the proceeds of the sale of implements produced. When a man was judged good enough to become a furnace-owner himself, he was not handed an old furnace, but his skilled relatives made a new one for him. The young man stood on the ground and the furnace was built around him. It was built up until the young man could just reach, with hands above his head, a pole stretched across the top. Then the relatives, on scaffolding outside, lifted the pole up with the youth hanging on to it. He was lifted gently because it was a bad omen to break any of the new, soft mud of the furnace. When he was out safely he danced and sang, *Nomba ndi mukulu nachile bamba* ('Now I am grown up I am taller than the *bamba* thatching-grass').

The leader or owner of the furnace is entitled to call himself *nganga* (doctor) when at work and his work lies inside the empty furnace arranging the materials. The furnace is also given a special name, *ngoma* (drum), during the smelting, and the phrase is heard, 'the doctor is inside the drum.' He has another name, probably a praise name used in smelting songs, but it varies with each owner. Headman Bule at Chibote was known as *chikushi chafimba pa fyuma* ('the loin cloth that covers riches'); he also had a name for when he was blacksmithing, *viz. kabanga fyela* ('one who hammers the iron'). Headman Katala when blacksmithing was called *chitebetebe* ('fetcher of firewood'). Such names are inherited from ancestors.

The Chishinga smith had a few traditional privileges. He was not killed at any ceremony or event that demanded human sacrifice and he was excused the customary free labour (*mulasa*) given to chiefs. But he commuted this labour by the gift of an axe or a hoe to the chief. There were also a few taboos. During the smelting period, which might last for four or five weeks, the smiths ate only with each other and not with non-workers. This taboo is still retained. In the old days women were not allowed near the smelters and all the food was cooked by young boys, but now the women have huts some few hundred yards from the smelters and they cook the food; they are free to walk past the smelters, but the man does not sleep in his wife's hut or have sexual intercourse with her until the smelting is finished. Male visitors are allowed freely at the smelting. Headman Kapambwe explained very vividly the reason for the sexual restriction. The furnace, he said, was regarded as the smelter's wife for the period of the work and to sleep with his human wife meant that he was committing

adultery as far as the furnace was concerned. Moreover, the furnace was pregnant with iron, she was a wife with 'great riches in her womb,' and to commit adultery whilst the wife is pregnant means, among other tribes beside the Chishinga, that the child will die, and so by analogy the furnace would not produce good iron. Another taboo is that wives of smelters do not use the red *nkula* dye on their hair or bodies. To do so would make it difficult for the furnaces to reach the white heat necessary for the production of good iron.

The use of medicines starts as soon as the band of smelters arrives at the furnaces. There were six furnaces in a group at Chibote. Leaves and bark from the *kalongwe* tree are pounded and soaked in water and each of the workers washes hands, feet and face in the water. This cleanses them physically of dirt, especially of the excrement of babies and fowls into which they might have trodden, and also it cleans them spiritually of the 'bad things' they might have seen on the way to the furnace.

When a new furnace is built, as soon as it is finished and whilst the mud is still wet, a cockerel's head is chopped off by the senior 'doctor' and the blood is sprinkled over the walls of the furnace. This ensures that it will stand up strongly and not break or fall down during the smelting. The cockerel's head is tied to a pole and left hanging by the furnace.

Close by is built an arch, several feet high, made of two branches of the two trees *mumpombwe* and *munungi*. They are stuck into the ground and tied together at the top to form the arch and from them is suspended a branch of leaves of the *musafwa* tree. A string between the two branches keeps the leaves from moving about. The object of this is to guard against lack of success that would follow any menstruating women approaching the furnace.

Adjoining each furnace is a small spirit hut (*lufuba*). This is a little grass-and-pole miniature hut with open sides and about two or three feet high in which are placed offerings of meal and beads to the line of ancestors from whom the furnace-owner learned the art. These are put up after the furnace has been built and before smelting begins. The owner says a prayer before beginning work, naming all the ancestors and asking them to help him. Headman Katala called on former ancestors named Chamwiko, Nkabulula, Chushi and Kalungusha.

When the ironstone, firewood and air pipes (*nchelo*) are ready, the senior smelter enters the kiln. On the floor he puts a layer of dry wood and then on top of that he spreads a medicine made up of mixed and pounded leaves and roots of the *kapupa* tree and of leaves of the *kaseketi kakashika* tree. It is immediately on top of this that the smelted ore will come to rest. Then come layers of short pieces of green wood (*makaka* or *manchili*) and then a layer of big pieces of green wood (*jingandu*).

Right in the centre of this layer of long branches is buried a *chibele*, a conical excrescence chopped from the trunk of the *chipolo* tree (*chibele* literally means a woman's breast). The first layer of ironstone is to be placed on top of this, but first a medicine made of the roots of the *muteketa* shrub and boiling water is poured on the stones. Then the first

layer of ore is put in. The *muteketa* medicine ensures that the ore will burn properly and not be spoiled because a worker's wife is menstruating, or because a worker had sexual intercourse the night before. This only partially fills the kiln but at this stage all except one of the open doors, the one through which fire is to be inserted at the base of the kiln, are plastered in and the earthenware air pipes set in the mud.

Then more of the *kalongwe*-tree cleansing medicine is poured, leaves and roots together, on top of the layer of stone. Boiling water is poured over this and the senior smelter shouts, *Nomba mutapo yakaba* ('Now the ironstone is hot'). Then follow further layers of wood and stone until the kiln is full. The furnace is started with very little fire and if that should go out it is a very bad omen. Either the owner or his son or daughter will die shortly. When the kiln is alight the workers go to bathe and afterwards to drink beer, dance and sing the smelting songs.

There are several food taboos that must be observed after the lighting of the furnace. The day it is lighted the owner does not eat anything until the furnace is burning well, then the food he takes must all be hot, the staple meal and relish alike. If the food were cold the furnace would become cold likewise. Then there are a series of taboos on foods which are slimy or liquid as for the owner to eat them might prevent the iron from settling into solid masses. Such are the honey, *chipashi*, made by the *mopane* bee, the large mushroom known as *tente*, and relish from the leaves of the *tutue* tree. (For the same reason a woman with a menstrual flow must not come anywhere near the furnace.) The gener, *ushimba*, is a slippery little animal, so he must not be eaten. And to eat food that had been cooked by the mother of a new-born baby would cause the iron to shrink in quantity.

A worker must not return home during the smelting and the working of the iron. If he did so the power of the cleansing medicine he had used would be lost and he would not be allowed to return to the work during that particular smelting. If he were lucky the owner might remember to give him one piece of ironwork, an axe or a hoe, at the end of the work.

Another taboo is that the owners and workers must not bathe their bodies during the smelting and working. The reason given for this was that to wash the whole body might destroy some of the cleansing medicine. Cleansing the body is a final ritual in many tribal ceremonies, so to

wash would signify that the work was completed. 'Washing the body,' said one of the doctors, 'would imply a dangerous pride. We come from the villages as poor people seeking riches. We cannot wash off our taboos until we are successful.'

Furnaces are not put out artificially. The ore is drawn from the plastered openings at the base and the smouldering fire is left to die out.

There are no extra rituals for the forging of the ore. The same medicines are used, *kalongwe* leaves being buried under the place where the fire is built. The owner kindles the fire with fire sticks, a customary usage in many tribal rituals in the Northern Province. When the fire is burning, well pounded roots of the *muteketa* tree are thrown on to it. This is to ensure that the unsuspected presence of an unclean person shall not cause cracks or otherwise misshape the tools being forged. The forging is regarded as being a part of the smelting operation, and all the taboos and rituals are observed until the ore is finished.

The tools, axes, hoes, spearheads, etc., are distributed by the furnace-owner. When customary dues have been paid, he can sell them for profit and to pay his workers. He gives a few tools to the workers as part payment; he has to give some to the chief; and he gives hoes to his wife. Very often in the past, smelters would send some hoes or axes to Chief Mwamba, a powerful Bemba chief nearby. Mwamba in return would send cloth or, if the gifts were many, a slave.

I wonder whether the medicines and rituals described represented all the usages and customs that accompanied smelting a generation ago. There had been a big gap before the revival and, since a resuscitation of the art had never been envisaged, it is possible that much of the ritual had been forgotten. The products of native smelting cannot compare with the imported European article and with the end of the war the Chishinga smelters are again to be abandoned, this time presumably for good.

It is perhaps worth noting that during the revival Government sent up a metallurgist from the Copperbelt to Chibote to find out whether the native methods could be improved or developed so as to produce a better article. But the scientific or technical basis was not advanced enough for any alteration to be superimposed upon the traditional method. There seems to be no practical intermediate stage between the old and the new methods of smelting.

TATTOOING AND SCARIFICATION IN TANGA*

by

F. L. S. BELL, M.A.

28 The people of Tanga belong to a Melanesian tribe which inhabits a group of islands off the east coast of New Ireland.¹ They and their neighbours to the south, the Feni Islanders, share a common language and a common

* With two text figures

culture. In many ways they are akin to the people of the Solomon Islands, but differ from them in being taller and somewhat lighter-skinned. There is some evidence that their way of life has been influenced by contact with Polynesia. The very word, *tatau*, which they use to describe

the tattooing process is precisely the same as that used in Tonga, Tahiti and Samoa.

Tattooing

Whereas in Polynesia the operation of tattooing is performed by men on men and in Melanesia by women on women,² in Tanga it is performed on both men and women by female experts. There is a slight preponderance of tattooed women over tattooed men and the designs used on women are more complicated than those used on men. In contrast to the elaborate body tattooing of the Koita women and the Samoan men, in Tanga there is almost no decoration of the body below the neck. The forehead, cheeks, nose and chin are the principal features embellished by tattooing among these people. Among those natives upon whom I did notice body tattooing was an old woman whose left forearm bore an enclosed rectangle



FIG. 1. SOME TANGA TATTOO DESIGNS

(a-d) Non-facial designs.

(e-k) Female facial designs.

(e) *data mata* (tear drops); (f) *ka:keke man* (bird tracks);

(g) *mata'm pisa* (eye of the sun); (h) *pulus* (wood pigeon);

(k) *an lis* (Canarium almond).

(l-p) Male facial designs.

(l) *ang kung kok* (fish tail); (p) *pan gomgom* (fern leaf).

measuring six inches by two inches with five parallel lines inside the rectangle (fig. 1a) and whose abdomen was marked with a girdle of slanting parallel lines about five inches long (fig. 1b). Several young women bore a design of two circles about two and a half inches in diameter on their chests about four inches above their nipples (fig. 1c). Apart from these females, I saw very few women, and no men, whose bodies showed evidence of having been tattooed.

There are no male practitioners of the art in Tanga and very few women who are able to perform the operation. The best practitioners either learned the art in Feni or are descended from Feni women who brought their knowledge of the designs and the technique from Feni. Some of the best designs on men were acquired whilst visiting the Feni Group and the acquisition of a facial tattoo is one of the most popular souvenirs of a young Tanga's visit to his

relatives in Feni. Of course, the women of Tanga are not so fortunate as their brothers in being able to make regular canoe cruises to the southern islands and have to be content with the services of local tattooing experts.

The technique employed by these women experts is simpler than that of their male counterparts in Polynesia. The operating kit consists of a sliver of razor-sharp bamboo, or a piece of sharp obsidian, or, in these days, a fragment of glass, a hemisphere of coconut shell containing the dye, a pad or pads of the soft inner fibres of the *ih*s tree, a small basket of powdered ash, the stripped midrib of a coconut-palm leaf (*nok*) and a bowl of milky sap taken from the leaves of a species of *Euphorbia* plant (*ang karamet bulum*). The dye consists of the sap of the *canarium*-almond tree; this is heated until it smokes and the soot is collected on a leaf. The operation is carried out in the open and the patient lies on her back or side whilst the operator sits on the ground and works from beyond her head. The design is first traced on the forehead or face of the patient in light grey ash with a piece of stripped coconut midrib. A single element of the complete facial tattoo is all that is attempted at a single sitting. The whole design generally takes a minimum of two months to incise and may even take twelve months if the operator has not mixed her dyes properly and has to repeat the operation. One man told me that he had been done three times and suffered quite a deal of pain in the process.

The operator compresses the skin over the marked design between the forefinger and the thumb of the left hand and then makes a series of very small but deep cuts (*teflikine*) with the bamboo or obsidian or glass knife along the line of the design.³ As soon as she has finished a single line of the design she wipes away the blood with her pad of *ih*s fibres and then applies a sooty mixture of burnt *canarium*-almond sap to the wounds with a leaf applicator. After rubbing this dye well into the wounds, she staunches any further bleeding by applying the fibre pad and warning the patient to lie still for a few moments. When the bleeding stops, the first stage of the operation has been completed. The patient rests or carries on her usual duties for the next two days and on the fourth day returns for the final part of the operation. She lies down again and the tattooer applies some of the *Euphorbia* sap to the line of tattooed scars. This is believed to fix the colour of the tattoo. When completely healed a line of tattoo marks consists of a series of dark blue scars about one-eighth of an inch long and one-sixteenth of an inch wide separated by one-thirty-second of an inch. Even from a short distance the line has an unbroken appearance, and stands out well even on the darkest skin.

As soon as the patient feels that she is ready for the incision of another line of the design she visits the tattooer again and the process described above is repeated. I counted over fifty separate lines of tattooed scars on the face of one woman and was told that she had been in the hands of the tattooer from one planting to another, a period of almost twelve months. Tattooing experts are paid for their services with presents of food, small but valuable shell tokens (*fat*) and strings of shell currency (*kemetas*). They are not

constantly employed by the community and practise their art only as a spare-time occupation.

Unlike most Melanesian peoples, the Tanga do not tattoo their children. The first designs are acquired at the beginning of their adult life. They are one of the accompaniments of entry into full adult status, but are by no means an obligatory sign of such status. Many natives postpone the acquisition of a tattoo until long after they are married or in many cases, especially among the men, never acquire one at all. I saw no evidence that the lack of a tattoo lowered the prestige of a native. On the other hand, I was told that possession of a tattoo definitely enhanced the comeliness of a native. It did not distinguish the person of rank from the ordinary man or woman. Most men of eminence in the community were tattooed, but many who were of little account socially also bore involved tattoo designs on their faces. I am convinced that the function of tattooing in Tanga is almost purely aesthetic.

the surrounding skin surface. The *an tin tun* scars may be produced by a friend, but more often than not are self-inflicted. The midrib of a coconut-palm leaf is heated and used as a poker. The resulting pyrographic design is made permanent by not allowing the burns to heal too soon. Both types of cicatrization are practised purely as a means of enhancing one's personal appearance.

Dancing and singing are rather important elements in the life of these people and in several cases the right to participate in particular dances is restricted to men who are members of certain societies. As a sign of membership in such societies, scars are inflicted on candidates, the scar pattern varying with the character of each society. One such society has the exclusive right to perform a dance known as *kot*, and the scar pattern inflicted on each member of the society consists of three parallel scars running between the nipples. These scars are known as *tuf tuf* and a fee must be paid to a special operator who alone has the right



FIG. 2. COMBINATION OF ELEMENTS IN FACIAL DESIGNS

a-e, female; f, g, male

Various elements of the designs are illustrated in fig. 1, while fig. 2 shows how some of these elements are incorporated into the male and female facial designs. The two male patterns illustrated (fig. 2f, g) incorporate distinct design elements which are used only by men, but I have seen some female design elements (fig. 1e, f) used on men as well as women.

Scarification

In contrast to tattooing, the practice of scarification is almost exclusively a male custom in Tanga.⁴ The scars are always of the raised cicatrice type and are always inflicted upon the bearers by male operators. Whilst they are often sought after as aids to personal beauty they are just as often inflicted for ritual reasons.

The two parts of the body most favoured as scarification areas are the chest between the nipples and the outer aspect of the upper arm. Quite early in adolescence, a youth acquires the *ka keke man* or 'bird tracks' design between his nipples, and a little later on a series of transverse scars called *an tin tun* on his upper arms. The former are cut in much the same way as the *tatau*, but instead of anointing them with soot, lime is rubbed into the wounds, causing them to heal as scars raised three-eighths of an inch above

to cut the scar pattern. Another such society requires candidates for membership to submit themselves to a series of cicatrizations. The pattern of each scar design varies in accordance with the particular grade of the society entered by the member. Thus it is that scarification in Tanga has an importance beyond mere body decoration and although akin to tattooing is a much more significant social practice. However, both customs are characterized by their almost universal adoption as means of enhancing personal and social prestige. They remind us that the naked savage no less than ourselves has recourse to art to embellish and distinguish himself from his brother.

Notes

¹ During 1933 I lived on the island of Boieng, Tanga Group, Bismarck Archipelago, whilst carrying out ethnographic work for the Australian National Research Council.

² There are many exceptions to this rule, but it is a useful formula which has a fairly general application in the Pacific region.

³ I have a single reference in my field notebooks to the employment of a tattooing comb and mallet by some operators. My informant claimed that this method was introduced from Namatanai on the east coast of New Ireland.

⁴ Women mourners do make small incisions on their arms and legs which produce visible scars, but this form of scarification is quite unlike that practised by the men.

SHORTER NOTES

Primitive Techniques and their Influence upon Economic Organization. *Summary of a discussion at the Brighton Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, September, 1948*

29 Following my opening paper on 'Technique and the Time Factor in Relation to Economic Organization' (see MAN, 1949, 12) were three papers illustrating various aspects of the problem. Mr. G. I. Jones read a paper on a section of the Ibo peoples of Southern Nigeria known as 'The People of the Big Hoe.' They had a social organization very different from their neighbours, and this was probably due to the use of a superior agricultural tool. The normal Ibo, using a small hoe, lived in compact, easily defended communities, while the *Ndi Ogu Uku* used a much larger and heavier hoe. With this they could extend yam-planting over a much wider area, and consequently the limiting economic factor became availability of land rather than labour. Their rapid expansion over uncultivated land led them to throw out colonies radially from a common centre for a distance of about twenty miles or more without a break in family or social organization. Thus while the peripheral communities might be weak in themselves they were able to rely for support on their parent village. They therefore illustrated in a very marked way the change in social organization which can be effected by a very minor change in material culture.

Professor Hutton followed with a comparison between the cultivation of wet and dry rice in Assam. The physical affinities and common ecological background of the Naga Hills made possible the elimination of many variables, and therefore a valid comparison between the two contrasting economies. Terraced irrigation on the very steep hillsides involved very long-term commitments and a much greater initial effort than dry cultivation, and implied permanent occupation of village sites. But the periodic labour was much less than in dry cultivation and allowed much longer periods of leisure which could be devoted to other activities. Thus the Angami with their irrigated-terrace cultivation enjoyed a much more prosperous and social life than the Sema Nagas, whose cultivation was based on *jhum* land. Moreover, a greater concentration of population was possible, which gave the Angami great political influence. He further suggested that the lack of leisure among the 'dry-cultivation' tribes led to industrial specialization by villages and tabus on certain manufactures.

Dr. Leach in his paper on 'Dry Rice-Cultivation in Borneo' took a different view, preferring to classify rice-cultivation into three types—'slash-and-burn,' hoe-cultivated wet rice and plough-cultivated wet rice—which he regarded as complementary, citing an example from Burma in which he showed by a most detailed analysis that from the point of view of yield per unit of labour dry rice was more productive than wet unless ploughing was employed, provided always that a sufficiently long period was left between crops for recovery of the fertility of the soil. He suggested that denudation of the soil and loss of fertility were

caused largely by administrative action and by growth of tea gardens, which by encroaching on native *jhum* land necessitated a shortened cropping cycle, which in turn led to cumulative loss of fertility.

The papers were discussed principally by Professors Gordon Childe and Fürer-Haimendorf. Most of the remarks made of necessity concerned agriculture. With regard to the last two papers Dr. Fürer-Haimendorf cited examples from the Apa Tani tribe, who, using hoes, were able to support a thousand people on a square mile of irrigated rice and to have a surplus to export to the comparatively poor Daffas, who cultivated dry rice. This seemed to support Professor Hutton's view.

There was general agreement that, given a long enough period for recuperation, there was not so much loss of fertility as many administrative officers believed. In general terms it appeared that in terms of yield per man-hour dry rice might under some conditions be more economical than hoe-cultivated wet rice, though not in terms of yield per acre. Most speakers, arguing from their experiences in South-East Asia, attacked Dr. Steggerda's figures for yield per unit of labour quoted in my opening paper.

In reply, I pointed out that the yield would depend largely on the rainfall, which would affect forest growth. I had no comparative figures for rainfall, but believed that the rainfall in Central America was less than in Yucatan, and saw no reason to doubt Dr. Steggerda's figures. In any case, the importance attached to the figures demonstrated the importance of technique and time in any study of primitive people. Professor Childe was in general agreement with the thesis of the importance of the time factor and technique but would have liked to see similar consideration given to transport.

ADRIAN DIGBY

Association of Social Anthropologists. *Note of a meeting on 5 and 6 January, 1949, communicated by Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard*

30 The winter meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists was held in the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford on 5 and 6 January, 1949. There were present: Professors Evans-Pritchard (in the chair), Forde and Hutton, Mrs. Seligman, Drs. Fortune, Gluckman, Henriques, Hogbin, Kaberry, Leach, Little, Mair, Nadel, Peristiany, Piddington and Richards. Mr. G. I. Jones was invited to become a member of the Association, and has accepted the invitation. It was decided to aim at publication by October, 1950, of the textbook on social anthropology planned by the Association. The revised register of members of the Association will be issued during the summer of this year. A discussion, opened by Dr. Nadel, was held on 'Symbolic Behaviour.'

The next meeting of the Association will take place at the London School of Economics on 28 and 29 September; Dr. Fortes will open a discussion.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. By H. and H. A. Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jackson, William A. Irvine. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. vii, 401

31 In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* the authors have chosen an admirable title, and promise is well fulfilled in this notable book. The 'ancient' man who is brought before us is not

most primitive man, the food-gatherer and hunter, nor man of the tribal and animistic outlook, but man with the larger, more comprehensive, more co-ordinative brain—in one word, the intellect, which came to him as a consequence of what is rightly termed the Agricultural Revolution, brought about by the domestication of grain and cattle, with the resultant widespread settled life of farming and

cultivation of the soil, of shepherding and of cattle-rearing. The most striking quality of the intellectual adventure of man in the Near East, in his efforts to understand his world and to adjust himself to it, so as to make the best of his life, is expressed in the first chapter, 'Myth and Reality,' in these terms, that any phenomenon may at any time face him not as 'It' but as 'Thou.' To quote (p. 6): 'In this confrontation "Thou" reveals its individuality, its qualities, its will. "Thou" is not contemplated with intellectual detachment; it is experienced as life confronting life, involving every faculty of man in a reciprocal relationship. Thoughts, no less than acts and feelings, are subordinate to this experience.' This first chapter combines the poetic gift of Mrs. Frankfort with a joint psychological insight in her husband, in a description of ancient man's inheritance from Egypt. In granting to 'the wisdom of the Egyptians' a proverbial appreciation, the neighbouring nations found two factors for the stimulus of their own thinking; a sense of high value outside their own times and places, so that their philosophies had the benefit of some historical setting, and a curiosity about the more obvious Egyptian achievements: accomplishments in art and architecture, governmental organization, and a sense of geometric order (p. 119). 'In summary,' to quote from Prof. A. Wilson, in his essay on 'The Function of the State,' 'the ancient Egyptian was self-conscious about himself and his universe; he produced a cosmos in terms of his own observation and his own experience' (p. 60). And this author vividly illustrates the statement by adding, 'The most interesting advance lies in a very early attempt to relate creation to the processes of thought and speech rather than to mere physical activity. Even this "higher" philosophy is given in pictorial terms arising out of Egyptian experience' (pp. 60f.).

The transition to the study of Mesopotamia and the Hebrews is fittingly made by Thorkild Jacobsen in a contrast with the spirit of man as moulded by the Egyptian natural environment. Thus, 'The Egyptian cosmos was eminently reliable and comforting. . . . It had reassuring periodicity; its structural framework and mechanics permitted the reiteration of life through the re-birth of life-giving elements' (p. 126). To the Mesopotamian, on the other hand, the cosmic order 'was not nearly so safe and reassuring as it was to the Egyptian. While he was not blind to the great rhythms of the cosmos, and saw it as an order, not as anarchy, yet under it he sensed "a multitude of powerful individual wills, potentially divergent. Hence the world-view that the universe must be interpreted and organized as a state, in which the individual man may count upon order and justice" (p. 127).

The problem thus raised became the subject of poetry, of which we may glance at a famous example, called *Ludlul bel nemeqi* ('I will praise the Lord of wisdom'), which deals with the same problem as the book of Job. The answer of the poem is twofold, to the mind and to the heart. The mind's answer is negative, being the denial that human standards of values can be applied to the gods. This, however, the writer holds, will not satisfy the heart. Deep emotions have been stirred; a sense of bitter wrong has been evoked. And to the heart the poem holds out the answer to hope and to trust. The righteous sufferer did not remain in his sufferings; in his darkest hour the gods had mercy on him, and turned to him full of goodness and light. The ways of the gods may seem inexplicable to man, but that is because man lacks the deeper understanding which actuates the gods' (p. 216).

Here we must lay aside our attempt to give some samples of the contents of this fascinating book, because justice could not be done, especially to the full and rich contribution of the Hebrews to man's religious inheritance through the history of Israel, and to his intellectual adventure through the dynasty of the Hebrew prophets. One feels that the fine enterprise of these writers will not have nearly all its fruit until a fuller treatment can be given to what we have called elsewhere the transition from the tribal horizon to the civilized horizon in the history of ancient man, with the consequent emergence of what deserves to be called the Civilized Mind, since it appears to set forth an ideal which offers itself for universal adoption by mankind as a whole. The three characteristics of this modern type of mind are the power of abstraction, an ethical ideal, and consciousness of individual human value. The study of these

developments in ancient thought in a volume complementary to this would provide a portrait of the genius of Akhenaten, as true poet and emancipator of Egypt, so far as might be, from its native concrete-mindedness. It would expound the connexion of Abraham and Ur of the Chaldees, as discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley, with the advances of Hebrew thought, and give some weight at least to the suggestion that the contribution of Moses as leader, lawgiver and founder of the dynasty of prophets, was considerably formative for the ethical future of Israel and the world as a whole.

J. MURPHY

Adolescence. By C. M. Fleming. London (Routledge), 1948. Pp. vii, 262. Price 16s.

32 Researches carried out during the last forty years into the facts and problems of adolescence have upset the theories previously held. They show, the author tells us, that the theorists, down to and including Freud, were in error in supposing that mankind could be divided into clear-cut age and sex groups, and in ignoring the effects of environment. They erred, in particular, in supposing that the onset of puberty brings with it a sudden change in a child's intellect and emotions. In fact the signs of puberty appear in varying order and often at long intervals, and quite normal children may not reach full puberty till the age of sixteen, or do so as early as eight. These variations occur similarly in every race and climate. Mental development proceeds quite independently of physical changes. There are no such things as specific aptitudes, and no significant mental differences, at any age, between boys and girls. The problems of adolescence are not physiological but social.

It is a pity that these important findings are not presented in a more attractive way. There are many repetitions, circumlocutions, 'elegant variations,' and expressions such as 'the emphasis was in the direction of the belief,' and few sentences which would not be improved by the omission of one or more words. RAGLAN

Myths of War. By Marie Bonaparte. London (Imago Publishing Co.), 1947. Pp. 161. Price 10s. 6d.

33 A motorist runs out of petrol and is helped by some gypsies. After some talk one of them says that there will be no war, for Hitler will be dead within three months as surely as the driver will have a corpse in his car before he reaches his destination. Later the driver is asked to take an injured man to hospital, and he is found dead on arrival.

The author has collected twenty-nine variants of this story, most of them from France in 1938-1939, but many from other countries, and some which suggest that the story is much older than Hitler. This and her other stories raise interesting problems, though the validity of her Freudian explanations may well be doubted.

RAGLAN

An Outline of the Development of Science. By Mansel Davies. London (Watts), 1947. Pp. vii, 214, illustrated. Price 3s. 6d.

34 The first 185 pages are taken up with a study of the progress of the natural sciences from 4,000 B.C. to date, and are very interestingly and on the whole very competently written. The social sciences receive merely twenty-five pages at the end, and of these social anthropology receives less than a page and a half, the latest names mentioned being those of Frazer and Lévy-Bruhl.

In a section on the discovery of America the author tells us that the authenticity of Garcilaso de la Vega's account of the Incas makes it a 'priceless document.' With this may be contrasted the view of a leading American authority, J. H. Rowe, who tells us (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 196) that Garcilaso's 'accounts of Inca history and religion are entirely fanciful.' RAGLAN

Ancient Greek Religion. By H. J. Rose. London (Hutchinson's Universal Library), 1945. Pp. 160. Price 7s. 6d.

35 It used to be widely believed that Ancient Greek religion was a regular polytheism in which a limited number of deities performed their special functions under the supervision of Zeus. This belief, if it still exists, should not survive a perusal of Professor Rose's earlier chapters. He shows that the gods were

of diverse origin; that their ults varied from time to time and place to place; that gods originally distinct were combined and *vice versa*; and that local deities and heroes often received more attention than the high gods. He goes on to take us through the Athenian ecclesiastical calendar, which was made up of an almost endless series of festivals. Of many of these, however, we know surprisingly little. The old religion was falling into discredit even before the age of Alexander, and with the fall of the city states declined more rapidly. It was replaced among the more intelligent by religious philosophies and

the mystery cults, and among the less intelligent by astrology and other oriental superstitions. Professor Rose sketches all these, and indicates their influence upon Christianity. In his last chapter he discusses probable survivals of ancient religion in modern Greece.

He adheres to Tylorian animism, and in general his views are conservative, but he holds, surprisingly, that the Games were of purely secular origin. His English is so good that his occasional use of such barbarisms as 'very minor' and 'essential prerequisite' comes as something of a shock.

RAGLAN

AFRICA

Plans and—People! A Dynamic Science of Man in the Service of Africa. By Edwin W. Smith. London and Redhill (Lutterworth Press), 1948. Pp. 70. 3s. 6d.

36 Dr. Smith devoted the Frazer Lecture of 1946, delivered at the University of Liverpool, to considering how anthropologists have switched some of their attention from problems of primitive culture to those problems involved in the absorption of primitive societies in the modern world. He further considered their opinions on how far they should advise on policy, and stated his own view of where their duty lay.

Dr. Smith may be called the doyen of African social anthropology, and it is valuable to have his report on a development in which he has played so rich a part. The monograph on the Ila which the late Captain Dale and he wrote still ranks as one of our most valuable scientific analyses; his own *The Golden Stool* focused attention on the

potential practical value of anthropological studies; and he has written over a dozen valuable studies besides these. What emerges markedly in all his work is his modesty in his own achievements, and his praise of the work of a younger generation of professional anthropologists whom he has served as devotedly as he has served Africa. Here he sums up, perhaps without a balanced assessment, the lines on which they have studied social change in Africa, before he considers the attitudes of anthropologists to practical problems in the light of changes in British Colonial policy. He discusses two typical attitudes: one, that an anthropologist in giving his opinion on a practical problem ceases to be a scientist; and two, that the anthropologist is as well able as other scientists to act in his own field in planning and advising. Dr. Smith's judgment is that the latter is the moral course of action. The lecture is to be read with pleasure and profit, like all Dr. Smith's writings.

MAX GLUCKMAN

AMERICA

The American People. By Geoffrey Gorer. New York (W. W. Norton and Co.) and London (Cresset Press), 1948. Pp. 211. Price 10s. 6d.

37 This is a readable book by an intelligent observer who applies his anthropological and psychiatric knowledge to a study of contemporary American civilization. It is exceedingly difficult to review, for the brevity of his exposition prevents Mr. Gorer from providing his readers with the basis for many of his generalizations, which are often not convincing *a priori*. His major psychological postulate, that American *mores* are overwhelmingly determined by rejection of the father with correlated over-emphasis of the mother's role, certainly calls for more evidence than is offered; and this holds still more for the cavalier assertion that in this respect Texas differs so radically from the rest of the country as to constitute a sub-culture area. This is not to deny that there are many shrewd observations on various aspects of trans-Atlantic life. But in justice to himself Mr. Gorer should present a reasonably full documentation of his views in a volume of wider scope.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

Children of Bondage. By Allison Davis and John Dollard. Washington, American Council on Education, 1940 (5th Printing, 1947). Pp. xxviii, 299. Price \$3.00

38 American negro society in the southern states is a class society. Between the professional man and the artisan, and between the latter and the unskilled labourer, there is a clear and well recognized distinction. This is based primarily upon income, but it is kept in being by differing modes of life, standards of morality and

social ideals. There is some movement, both upwards and downwards, between classes, but in general those in the lower classes have neither the opportunity nor the desire to improve their status. The distinctions are very similar to those in white society, but owing to white oppression the proportion in the upper classes is very much smaller. In general it would seem that the amount of social contact between members of different classes is less in America than in this country.

Besides these class distinctions there are the distinctions of caste. All whites are regarded by themselves as infinitely superior to all negroes, who suffer from social disabilities of every kind. Skilled negro workers receive only a quarter of the wages paid to whites of equal grade, though the cost of living is the same for both. No negro can hope to obtain justice against a white man from the police or in any court. The whites believe not merely that this differentiation is justified, but that it is accepted by the negroes themselves. The authors, however, are satisfied that resentment by the negroes, although it cannot be openly expressed, is deep and, except among a few of the lowest, universal. The situation is complicated by the fact that since colour is the sole basis of caste, lighter negroes are regarded by the whites as superior and therefore tend to be envied or disliked by the others.

The authors base their conclusions largely on detailed biographical and psychological studies of eight negro adolescents of different classes and both sexes.

The book was produced under the auspices of the American Youth Commission.

RAGLAN

ASIA

Le Régime Social des Mongols. By B. Vladimirtsov. Paris, 1948. Pp. xxviii, 291, with a map

39 This is a translation of a book published in 1934 by an eminent Russian scholar. It is divided into three parts: the first deals with early Mongol society of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the second with the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries and the last part, the shortest, with the modern period.

The original structure of Mongol society was based on small kinship groups, with a very weak tribal superstructure. There was

no equality among the members of this primitive community, and the author distinguishes several social classes in it, consisting of free men, serfs and slaves. Even among free men there were social differences: the kinship groups, or clans, as they are called by the French translator, were of different social standing, some were more powerful, and some were dependent upon and subjected to others.

The advent of Gengis Han and the new organization imposed by him resulted in fundamental changes in the structure of the Mongol community, and led to the establishment of a feudal regime based

on the ownership of pasture lands. In disrupting the old kinship groups (clans) Gengis Han created new large units headed by members of his own family. The struggle for power between the descendants of the old tribal chiefs and the princes of the Gengis family, in which the latter ultimately succeeded, covers the second period. The development proceeded on the same lines as in the feudal society of mediaeval Europe, leading to a weakening of the central authority and to the establishment of several *de facto* independent, feudal princedoms-hanats. Socially this evolution resulted in a division of Mongol society into three classes, feudal lords at the top, free men all equal to one another, and the serf class at the bottom.

The conquest of China (Yuang dynasty) did not alter substantially the internal structure of Mongol society. Only after they were driven out of China did the decline begin, and this process was

accelerated when they fell under Manchurian and Russian rule. The administrative activities of the conquerors, the penetration of foreign capital resulting therefrom and a gradual transition to a sedentary life led to a breakdown of the old feudal regime.

The work of B. Vladimirtsov is based on a very extensive bibliography in several languages, and the reference list comprises several hundred books, among them genuine Mongol and Chinese sources. It is a pity that it does not include the works of Jeremiah Curtin, the eminent American specialist on the subject. The book is a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the development of societies, shown on the background of economic conditions and of contemporary political events. It is, however, not very easy to read, and the main trend is sometimes difficult to follow.

T. SULIMIRSKI

CORRESPONDENCE

Hallmarks of Mankind. Cf. MAN, 1949, 22.

40 SIR,—May I assure Professor Wood Jones that the photograph of the 9-27 months old fetus (MAN, 1949, 22, fig. 1) is entirely untouched? This may readily be ascertained by an examination of 'the actual specimen' which is at present on loan in the Department of Anatomy at Oxford. The importance of this specimen lies in the fact that it shows beyond any shadow of possible doubt, that is to say, with perfect clarity, the relationship of the ascending process of the premaxilla to the infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone before the fusion of the upper half of that process with the maxilla.

Professor Wood Jones now claims that this specimen 'does not depict the normal relationship of this process.' He quotes E. H. Johnson (with whose work I am unfamiliar) to the effect that 'in 47 white fetuses not the slightest trace of a suture could be observed extending further than approximately midway up the frontal process of the maxilla.' I take this to be a slip, for the frontal process of the maxilla is that part which lies immediately lateral to the nasal bones up to the fronto-maxillary suture. This would put the apex of the ascending process of the premaxilla well above the level of the infero-lateral angle of the nasal bone. I take the statement by E. H. Johnson to have been intended to mean that the apex of the ascending process of the premaxilla terminated where Callender, whom Professor Wood Jones also quotes, stated that it does, namely, at the ridge for the inferior turbinate bone. This is what Callender, and, I assume, E. H. Johnson, observed. I do not question the accuracy of their observations. What they observed were specimens in which the upper half of the premaxilla had become fused with the internal pyriform portion of the maxilla. What they took to be the apex of the process was almost certainly not a free apex at all, but an arbitrary one determined by the upper limit of a semi-vertical premaxillary suture at the posterior margin of the process. The apex in such cases is buried in the maxilla. Though I have not seen the specimen figured in Professor Wood Jones's fig. 17, nor that which you are to publish, and which he claims to be a normal specimen, I venture to say that in neither case will the apex of the ascending process be found to be free. In which event I suggest that Professor Wood Jones has misinterpreted the actual terminus of the apex of the ascending process of the premaxilla.

Department of Anatomy, M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU
The Hahnemann Medical College and
Hospital of Philadelphia

Note

Professor Wood Jones, to whom the above letter has been shown, adds the following:

'No quibble of nomenclature as to the limits of the "frontal process of the maxilla" can minimize the discrepancy between the accounts given by Professor Ashley Montagu on the one hand and by Callender, Johnson, myself and other anatomists on the other, as to the site of the upper extremity of the ascending process of the premaxilla on the lateral wall of the nasal chamber. Briefly, from the examination of human

fetuses during early phases of development, there is agreement that the upper limit of this process is in the region of the so-called "conchal crest," a point far below the articulation of the maxilla with the nasal. Professor Ashley Montagu, from the examination of a full-term fetus, determines the upper limit of the premaxillary process at "the infero-lateral angle of the nasal." He ascribes the delimitation (by Callender, Johnson *et al.*) of the upper extension of the premaxilla to a point below the articulation of the nasal to the previous fusion and obliteration of the line of demarcation of this upward extension in young specimens, whereas in his more advanced embryos it still remains free and visible. I think it will be agreed that in the specimen illustrated, as in that figured in *The Hallmarks of Mankind*, the apex of the ascending process of the premaxilla is "free" and falls short of the "infero-lateral angle of the nasal".—ED.

Statistical Method in Anthropometry. Cf. MAN, 1948, 157.

41 SIR,—Professor Steffensen, in a recent paper, has measured the dimensions of a series of skulls previously measured by C. P. Martin and, finding some differences between the means of his series of measurements and those of Martin's, has concluded that they are due to (1) one of Martin's measuring instruments being a little inaccurate, (2) Martin's technique of using and choosing his instruments being different from (and, presumably, inferior to) his own. He suggests that the smallness of the dimension measured would account for the differences in those cases where the above explanations did not apply.

With Professor Steffensen's final conclusion, that a comparative study of skull dimensions, using a standard technique, would be of value, I have no quarrel. Moreover, his explanations mentioned above might be true. But he is not justified in concluding, from the data presented, that there is any significant difference between the two series of measurements. He has, in fact, made a very elementary error in statistics, which is all too common, unfortunately, in this type of work. The error lies in the misuse of the arithmetical mean.

When comparing two series of measurements made by different observers on the same series of objects, as in this case, close agreement or otherwise of the mean is not strong evidence of agreement or disagreement between the series of measurements. This is not the place to discuss the reasons for this statement, but perhaps the following hypothetical example will make it clear. The figures, to be considered vertically in pairs, are measurements made by two observers, A and B, on a series of dimensions.

A	100	105	95	90	110	100	Mean	100
B	90	110	100	100	105	95	Mean	100

The means are identical, yet it is obvious that there is marked disagreement between the pairs of measurements. It is clear that a logical test would be one based on the difference between the pairs of measurements, and not on the means of the series. Such a test has been devised and is known as the 't test for paired results.' The t test gives the probability (P) that the differences of the paired results

differ significantly from zero. The lower this probability, the closer the agreement between the two sets of measurements. It is usual to take 5 per cent. as the critical level. Details of the test are to be found in books on practical statistics, e.g. O. L. Davies, *Statistical Methods in Research and Production*, p. 64.

I have applied this test to Professor Steffensen's data with the following results (see his article for the meaning of the initials):

Dimension ML BNL MPB BBH BPL DC OBD OH NB
P per cent. <0.1 1.4 1 <0.1 <0.1 2.7 >50 1 0.4

In all cases, except OBD (orbital breadth to dacryon), the two series of measurements agree very well. It is interesting to note that the one result showing marked inconsistency between the series of measurements showed the best agreement between the means, which were respectively 39.38 and 39.33. This emphasizes the importance of not using the mean as a standard for comparison in this type of work.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis of the data is that the two series of figures show good agreement with one exception. A possible explanation of the exceptional case might be that Professor Steffensen and C. P. Martin were measuring different things.

M. LUBRAN

West Middlesex County Hospital, Isleworth

Note

Miss M. L. Tildesley comments as follows on Dr. Lubran's letter:

'Space is not available for more than the briefest comment. Certainly differences between means should be judged, where possible, in the light of their estimated standard errors, that is, by the *t* test; but the Martin-Steffensen observational differences are far too broadly grouped by the unit of measurement to give reliable estimates of standard errors. Dr. Lubran's values for *P* are therefore too ill based to have any value. Calculation of the binomial probability of getting as many differences of the same sign will show, however, that Professor Steffensen was right in regarding them, for most of the characters, not as random but as systematic. The cause which he then discovered, in the case of those characters measured with demonstrably inaccurate calipers, is, like elementary errors in statistics, "all too common": he rendered a service in calling attention to it.'—ED.

Primitive and Modern Art. Cf. MAN, 1949, 3

42 Sir,—Your Shorter Note (1949, 3), on 'Primitive and Modern Art in London,' prompts me to call the attention of your readers to an exhibition called for convenience 'The Art of Primitive Peoples,' which is now being held in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Most of the exhibits come from the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, but notable pieces have been lent by Mr. and Mrs. Webster Plass, Mrs. Seligman, Mr. T. W. I. Bullock and Mr. Louis Clarke, who is also responsible for the arrangement. In contrast to the exhibition which is the subject of your note, visitors to the Cambridge exhibition will be able to see works of primitive art without the distraction of having them associated with modern productions, which, to use your own expression, apparently lack any informing conviction, and are therefore irrelevant, except perhaps in the eyes of those anthropologists who are interested in the behaviour of certain modern artists.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge G. H. S. BUSHNELL
Curator

Note

The Hon. Editor was aware of the preparations for the more orthodox exhibition at Cambridge to which Dr. Bushnell refers, and hoped to publish a notice of it in due course. Though no formal announcement was made of its opening (some weeks after the London show) and duration, he understands that it will remain open until the end of June. It can be said at once that the Fitzwilliam Museum exhibition is certain to outclass the other in the Melanesian and ancient American fields, though it cannot hope to approach the magnificence of the African collection which was gathered together in Oxford Street. At the same time it must

be pointed out that, whereas Cambridge has been famous since the Torres Straits Expedition and earlier for its appreciation of primitive art, the handsome homage now paid to it by the more advanced artists in London calls for rejoicing like that with which the repentance of a sinner is greeted in heaven. The excellence of the Cambridge display need not detract at all from the achievement of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, which in its way is the greater, since they were not preaching to the converted, but carrying the gospel to the benighted Philistines of greater London. (It is possible that some of the organizers meant the primitive art to be the ballast rather than the main cargo, but if so they must have been disappointed by the virtual unanimity with which a multitude of critics in London, the provinces and abroad have acclaimed the primitives as eclipsing the moderns.)

With regard to the 'distraction' referred to by Dr. Bushnell, it may be thought that scientists should be the last to find difficulty in sorting the wheat from the chaff and the sheep from the goats; and the primitive works in Oxford Street were enhanced rather than marred by the juxtaposition.

We may, too, take up in all seriousness Dr. Bushnell's final jesting hint. Modern art, with the social attitudes for which it caters, is an emanation of modern society and as such a proper subject for study by social anthropologists—perhaps as yet unborn, since existing techniques are hardly adequate.

Some account of the Cambridge display will be published in a later issue of MAN.—ED.

The Greek Race? Cf. MAN, 1948, 141

43 Sir,—Professor Koumaris, in his recent article on 'The Morphological Variety of Modern Greeks,' writes: 'This race is distinguished today . . .,' meaning thereby the 'Greek Race.' Is he really offering such a statement to scientists of today? What is it that distinguishes the Greek race from the Jewish race, from the Catholic race and from the Mohammedan race? Has he studied such books as Klineberg's *Race Differences*; Ruth Benedict's *Race and Racism*; Ashley Montagu's *Man's Most Dangerous Myth—The Fallacy of Race*? M. D. W. JEFFREYS
Department of Social Anthropology,
University of the Witwatersrand

Polyandry in South India. Cf. MAN, 1948, 127

44 Sir,—I was most interested to read Dr. M. D. Raghavan's letter disputing my assertions on polyandry and matrilineal practices among the Tiyas of northern Malabar. With full consideration for his opinion and knowledge of the area, I cannot however fail to feel that the views which he expresses are those prevailing generally in the accepted theory of ancient accounts and gazetteers of Malabar, with which I am also familiar.

In point of fact, I was in the village of Lakis, a few miles outside Palghat, on 23 July, 1939, and it was there that I observed, contrary to the information printed in the gazetteer I had with me, that a family I was visiting, consisting of a woman, two brothers and two children, all Tiya todi-tappers, while practising fraternal, polyandrous matrimony, also followed Marumakatham law, which is a matrilineal code, as concerned the little property they had.

I have written to Dr. Raghavan in terms similar to these, and I very much look forward to meeting him and talking this matter over when I pass through Ceylon shortly, on my way to resume my anthropological studies in Malabar; I am sure that his assistance will be of great value to my work. PETER, Prince of Greece
New York

Corrections. MAN, 1949, 3 and 10

45 In the Shorter Note 'Primitive and Modern Art in London' (1949, 3), the date of Griaule's *Masques Dogons* was incompletely given. The book, which is Vol. XXXIII of the *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, Paris, appeared in 1938.

In Professor Hutton's letter (1949, 10), his address should have appeared as *St. Catharine's College, Cambridge*.



(a) and (b) VERTICAL BELT LOOM, SITSÓMOVI



(c) and (d) BELT LOOM WITH RIGID HEDDLE, HANO



(e) and (f) HORIZONTAL BELT LOOM, SANTA CLARA

PUEBLO BELT-WEAVING

Photographs by Barbara Aitken

A NOTE ON PUEBLO BELT-WEAVING*

by

BARBARA AITKEN

46 In 1913 (while holding a travelling fellowship from Somerville College) I noted in the Pueblo area three distinct methods of weaving narrow fabrics—women's patterned waistbelts of red, green and black woollen wefts on cotton warps—the fabrics resulting from the three processes being practically indistinguishable from each other.

These long, strong bands, four or five inches wide, made of vegetable fibres in pre-Spanish and of wool in post-Spanish times, wound several times round the waist to gird the blanket dress, were an indispensable part of the traditional Pueblo woman's costume: they supported the figure and eased the strain of heavy work; the housewife's keys, and sometimes an amulet or two, were tied to the fringes at one end. Men borrowed the belts to use as ornamental sashes for some dances. Socially, too, they had a certain importance as gifts from men to women, especially in the Arizona pueblos. For instance, an Oraibi man who had been a guest for the winter in a Hano family, when he went home in spring, obtained from his daughters belts to give to his hostess and her daughters. Belts were part of the trousseau provided for a bride by the bridegroom's fellow clansmen; and they were useful in trade from west to east.

At Sitsómovi, East Mesa, Arizona, I found a Hopi man (Tiwakaka, Asa clan) using a circular warp on a vertical suspended and strained stick-and-string loom, operated with stick-and-string pseudo-heddle and alternating rod, supplemented by selecting and lifting warp threads with the fingers to make the design (see Plate Ea, b); this was simply a narrow version of the Hopi and Navajo blanket loom. The same man was weaving dancers' sashes with brocaded designs.

At Hano, a few hundred yards away, a Tewa man (Leslie Agayo, Corn clan) was using a belt-tension loom—a warp of measured length suspended at one end from a house beam and attached at the proximal end to a belt passing round his buttocks—he worked with a rigid perforated heddle of European type supplemented by selection with his fingers (see Plate Ec, d). The same man wove blankets in wool and in cotton, dancers' loincloths, and brocaded sashes, and was also an embroiderer.

At Santa Clara, New Mexico, a Tewa man (Cándido Tafoya) was weaving women's waistbands on a circular horizontal warp running from a miniature beam pegged to the floor to another which was attached to a strap passing round his waist; the weaver sat on his heels on the floor and

wove with stick-and-string pseudo-heddles and alternating rod, supplemented by selection with his fingers (see Plate Ee, f, and fig. 1). The same man made plaited and knotted cotton sashes for dancers but did no other kind of weaving; in fact, no blankets had been woven at Santa Clara for many years past.



FIG. 1. SANTA CLARA: WARPING FOR THE BELT LOOM

That such a belt-tension loom should be almost horizontal and worked at floor level is not altogether surprising; with this apparatus it is obviously easy to vary the height of attachment, the resulting angle of the warp with the floor, and the weaver's attitude. Compare, for example, Washington Matthews (1884), Plates 36 (Navajo) and 37 (Zuñi); Stevenson (1904), Plate 94 (Zuñi); and Plate Ee in the present paper. And although, in the pueblos, belt tension seems normally to be combined with the rigid perforated heddle, Washington Matthews shows (*loc. cit.*, Plate 36) stick-and-string pseudo-heddles in use among the Navajo. Nevertheless, this Santa Clara combination of belt tension, horizontal position, floor level, and stick-and-string 'heddles' has not, I think, been recorded in the Pueblo area, and the analogy with methods found to the south makes it worth noting.

References

- Washington Matthews, 'Navajo Weavers,' Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Third Annual Report*, 1881-1882, Washington, 1884.
- Matilda Coxé Stevenson, 'The Zuni Indians,' Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, 1901-1902, Washington, 1904.
- Barbara Aitken, 'A Tewa Craftsman—Leslie Agayo,' *El Palacio*, Santa Fé, N.M., 1924.

* With Plate E and a text figure

A BRONZE CULT OBJECT FROM SOUTHERN NIGERIA*

by

CYRIL ALDRED

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

47 The object illustrated in figs. 1-3 was acquired in Southern Nigeria by the late Major W. Birrell Gray, C.M.G., former Administrator of the Colony, and was recently presented by his widow, Mrs. C. Birrell Gray, to the Ethnographic Department of the Royal Scottish Museum (reg. no. 1946.967). I am indebted to the Director of the Museum for permission to publish the following particulars.

The specimen is made entirely of bronze, about 2 mm. thick; and has been cast, presumably by the *cire perdue* method, over a clay or pottery core which is partly retained within. It measures 19 cm. along its longitudinal axis and 12 cm. across the malar processes. The object is apparently intended as a representation of an animal skull, but a good deal of stylization is evident. The post-orbital processes of the frontal and malar have been fused (see Fig. 1):

process two lines of binding have been worked into a simple 'sinusoidal' pattern. The sagittal and occipital crests have been lightly serrated, evidently before casting—there is in fact little indication that tooling was used after the object had been cast. On each parietal surface has been applied a sexfoil rosette with a prominent boss. Each lobe of the rosette has its centre gouged out and the edges so formed have been serrated. In the nasal area, above the orbital cavities has been placed a peculiar ornament consisting of an oblong projection reticulated with twenty-eight small cloisons, which in some cases are not complete. A narrow ribbon of metal partly encircling the frontal area and terminating in a cross-over knot simulates a lashing of some kind for attaching the projection to the skull. A similar knot flanks the opposite side of the projection, but there is no trace of an encircling band.



FIG. 1. RIGHT PROFILE

Photographs: Royal Scottish Museum

FIG. 2. VIEW SHOWING FORAMEN MAGNUM

the teeth are incorrectly represented, five instead of six incisors being shown, and only two pre-molars: a nearly circular hole in the occipital region represents the foramen magnum; a similar hole in the palatal region may be meant as the orifice of the sella turcica though it is also possible that it was caused by the breaking away of a casting duct. Yet despite these simplifications there has obviously been a considered attempt on the part of the craftsman to model the cranium of a particular species of carnivore. The prominent sagittal crest and the large canine teeth reinforce the general impression that the object represents the cranium of a leopard, slightly elongated.

Upon this basic structure has been imposed a distinctive kind of decoration. The orbital and nasal cavities have been rimmed with continuous thin bands showing a simple incised pattern. The cervical area of each large canine tooth has been ringed with a similar binding. On each malar

* With three text figures

Despite the prominent crack in the nasal region and certain other flaws the technique of the casting is good, displaying a fair degree of skill and assurance on the part of the craftsman. The specimen is in good condition: the metal is tough and shows no signs of having suffered corrosion at any time. For this reason if no other the object has not the appearance of great antiquity.

At this stage it seems pertinent to ask where the object was found and in what circumstances. Here unfortunately all the data are missing and, despite careful research on the part of the writer, cannot, it seems, be supplied. Major Birrell Gray served in various parts of Southern Nigeria, mostly in Warri, Benin, Calabar, Abeokuta and Lagos,¹ so it is not possible to specify a precise locality from which the object may have come. The technical achievement displayed in the casting and ornamentation of the specimen suggests that there was an assured tradition behind the craftsman who made it; yet the decorative detail and general art form do not point to a Bini provenance. Certain

details—the knots, for instance—suggest similarities to the Igbo 'hoard',² but the feeling for material is more massive in this specimen. It is, moreover, not possible to make an exact comparison since the Igbo specimens still await cleaning.

The form of the object, that of a stylized leopard skull, points to some connexion with the Ekkpe Society of Eastern Nigeria, but there is no mention of a cult object of this type in Talbot's account of the Society.³ When, however, I brought this object to the notice of Mr. W. B. Fagg of the British Museum, he drew my attention to a specimen from a collection in the Department of Ethnography, comprising part of the contents of a 'juju hut' from near Allabia in the Andoni country. This was a fetish object consisting of two skulls, goat and leopard, lashed by



FIG. 3. SAGITTAL VIEW

rattan to a wooden staff. He has since notified me that also among the same collection are two cast bronze models of a leopard's skull, differing in various ways from the Royal Scottish Museum specimen and also from each other, 'but quite clearly embodying the same general idea, and some of the particular features.'⁴

It would appear, therefore, that it is to the Andoni that we must ascribe this rather uncommon form of bronze cult object.

Notes

¹ For full particulars see *Nigeria Civil Service List*, Lagos, 1928, p. 38.

² Cf. J. O. Field, 'Bronze Castings found at Igbo,' *MAN*, 1940, 1; see also 1940, 138 and 230.

³ *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, Vol. III, pp. 780ff.

⁴ The following further information about the British Museum collection (1905. 4-13. 1-79) may help to fill out the probable setting

of the Royal Scottish Museum specimen. The collection was made by A. A. Whitehouse, then Divisional Commissioner (Acting), Eastern Division, Southern Nigeria, with headquarters at Bonny, and was presented to the Museum by the Government of Southern Nigeria at his suggestion. On 1 September, 1904, Whitehouse convened a meeting at Allabia, the principal town in the Andoni country, at which there were present the Bonny Chiefs C. Halliday, Atteh Pepple, Fred Green and Phillip Banigo (for Chief Squiss Banigo); the Opobo Chiefs Sunday Jaja, Cookey Gam, Daminabo Ogolo, Mac Pepple, Dappu Black Foobra and Appi-Affi; and the Andoni Chiefs Otuoko of Allabia, Wonhunnanye of Ayanda, Ibulu of Okende, Ugoe of Ayangala, Agunte of Eletumbi and Dapua of Asarama, with the Headmen Ngere of Ngoo, Dappa of Allabia and Okumbere of Aganya. At this meeting Whitehouse required the cessation of 'the terrible crimes committed in the name of the Juju Iyobulo,' and the destruction of the Juju House existing in the town. The Andonis reluctantly agreed, and were refused permission to remove the skulls. The town Juju House was then inspected and found to be 'a veritable Golgotha, over 2,000 skulls being counted, neatly arranged and fixed to the walls and posts of the house.' This place was fired, but Whitehouse was then informed of another Juju House existing in the bush. Three days later he returned and insisted on going to the 'bush Juju.' 'This indeed,' he says, 'was a weird place, where, if native report is to be believed, fearful atrocities have taken place. Embarking in a small canoe which proceeded for some distance through a tortuous creek in the mangrove belt, a landing was made on firm ground, the place, surrounded by high trees and dense bush, being dark and gloomy and overgrown with rank grass. Crawling under several leaf screens or barriers, we finally arrived at a small hut completely closed in with vegetation, the interior being so dark that it was necessary to tear down the walls before it was possible to see what the place contained. . . . [The principal articles found] being removed, the house was then burnt, and also a hut near, where the women assembled and sang and played during the Juju ceremonies. Before leaving the town I visited the site of the Juju House destroyed on 1 September, and found that all the debris had been swept away and the skulls remaining from the fire buried in a neighbouring swamp.'

The main contents removed from the bush house were: a large metal bell, inscribed 'Otto Bakker Rotterdam 1757,' used at the Juju festivals to call the neighbouring towns together and during sacrifice; an ivory horn, 4 feet long, with four human skulls and part of another attached, 'blown by the Juju priest at the annual festivals and on all big occasions'; a male seated figure, 11½ inches high, cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process, and said by Whitehouse to represent an Ijo native; the two cast bronze leopard skulls (lengths 6½ and 7 inches), called by Whitehouse 'copper tortoise' and 'copper alligator'; the two animal skulls lashed to a staff, 44 inches long, with two bronze manillas attached; a circular stool, reddened with camwood, with a number of animal heads fastened below the seat, and found in the women's Juju house; 45 bronze manillas or penannular rings and similar objects of various sizes; two bronze spears and a bifurcated bronze staff, carried by the Juju priest; a finely cast bronze bell, related to Benin forms; a horn-shaped bronze object; two bronze swords, two bronze armlets and four pieces of bent brass wire; four wooden staffs, 'carried by the women when dancing during the Juju play'; four pots; three human skulls and three ivory tusks.—ED.

OBITUARY

Wilfrid Vernon Grigson: 1896-1948

48 The death of Sir Wilfrid Vernon Grigson in an air crash near Multan on 26 November, 1948, brought sorrow to his many friends, deprived the Indian aborigines of one of their most loyal champions and cut short a life which had already borne rich fruit for anthropological science. Grigson was still young, only 52, and those who saw him recently were impressed by his happiness and energy. He had thrown himself with

characteristic humanity into the refugee problem of Pakistan, and a number of letters in Indian papers reveal how deeply his work there was appreciated. A new and revised edition of his book *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* was going through the press and he had a number of other literary projects on hand. Had he been able, after retiring from his official duties, to undertake expeditions in tribal India, he would have produced further work of the very highest importance.

Grigson, who was universally known to his friends as 'Frittles,' was born on 11 October, 1896, in a Cornwall vicarage, and although later he had little interest in conventional religion he revealed throughout his life the influence of his home in his appreciation of intellectual and spiritual values. He was at school at Leatherhead and then went up as a classical scholar to Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained a second class in Hon. Mods. His university life was cut short by the war and in 1916 he joined the army and served with the Machine-Gun Corps until 1919. He went to France and Mesopotamia in 1917, to Palestine, France and Belgium in 1918. While crossing the Mediterranean, his ship was torpedoed and he spent many hours in the water before he was picked up. On his discharge from the army in 1919 he took his Bachelor's degree and joined the I.C.S. A year later he married his wife Phyllis, who was his companion and supporter in so many of his enterprises.

Grigson went to India in 1920, and was posted to the Central Provinces. He spent over twenty years in this part of the world.



He was Deputy Commissioner of Seoni, the scene of Kipling's *Jungle Books*, in 1925, of Hoshangabad in 1926-27 and again in 1935-36, of Nagpur in 1931-34 and of Jabulpore, with its large aboriginal population, in 1936-38. Of this period, Mr. A. H. Layard, I.C.S., who shared a bungalow with him for nearly two years, writes to me:

Grigson, in his early days in India, was very different from the average young man who had entered the I.C.S. He perpetuated his idiosyncrasies throughout his career and they provided a great source of amusement to all his friends, and he had many, for I have seldom known a man who was more universally popular and respected. Great as was his ability it was perhaps these idiosyncrasies which, more than anything else, endeared him to his friends.

I remember very well the first occasion on which the Grigsons had to go on tour in a Sub-Division of the Nagpur District, of which he was in administrative charge. They left the bungalow in a tonga bound for the station but returned six

times for something that they had left behind. On the seventh it was *The Oxford Book of English Verse*. Of course they missed the train and waited all day on Nagpur platform for the next. Next day I had a telegram from them which read, 'We have come without our money.' Grigson used to spend a large part of every day seeing his visitors. He frequently arrived at Court to hear his cases, as a Third-Class Magistrate, about the time I was leaving, and he sometimes finished his day's work well after our dinner hour. We never knew when he would appear for any meal and sometimes we didn't dine till about 11 o'clock at night.

Grigson had infinite patience in dealing with people; he loved to spend hours in conversation with his Indian visitors. He was beloved by them all although he chaffed them mercilessly, and he really could get to the root of matters.

Grigson's happiest and most fruitful years were those which he spent in Bastar State, where he was Administrator from 1927 to 1931. The fruit of those years is to be seen not only in his brilliant book *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (O.U.P., 1938), which was the first monograph in the modern style on a tribe of peninsular India, but also in the admirable provisions which he made for the aboriginal peoples of the State. For nearly twenty years the administration proceeded on lines laid down by him to the infinite benefit of the people. I have often thought how wonderful it must be to feel that one has been responsible for so much happiness of half a million tribesmen over a period of two decades. An entire legend grew up round the name of 'Grikson Diwan,' for if Grigson loved the Marias and Murias they certainly reciprocated his affection. It is rare for aboriginals to know, still less to remember, the names of administrators, yet I found in 1940 and the following years that Grigson's name was known in the remotest villages of the state, and old men who had no idea that there was a war believed that somewhere or other 'Grikson Diwan' was caring for their interests. At the top of the beautiful Raughtar the villagers will show you a great rock from which, they say, Grigson and his wife, enraptured by the loveliness of the scene, once leapt fully clad into the waters of the pool far below. The Murias of Koilibera were still chuckling ten years afterwards at their recollections of Grigson's chase of a man-eater, when the Marias of the south whom he brought with him ate every monkey in the hills and stripped all the trees in the forest of red ants—Grigson himself being by no means backward in sharing the fantastic meal. In one high, lonely clearing of the Abujhmar, I was told, Grigson once encountered an ancient woman completely naked. She had never seen a white face before and, believing the visitor to be a Rakshasa, fell at his feet begging to be allowed to return for a few moments to her village to bid farewell to her little grandson, after which she would come to be devoured.

In May, 1940, Grigson was posted on special duty to investigate the conditions of the aboriginals of the Central Provinces. In spite of the fact that within a few months other duties were laid upon him and early in 1941 he was appointed Secretary to the Governor, he made rapid progress. He issued five questionnaires which are models of the kind of enquiries that should be made in such a case, and some of his junior officials, all of whom loved him, gave him admirable reports. The completed work, *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*, is in its 510 pages one of the most detailed and thorough discussions of the economic, social and political needs of aboriginal people that has yet been written. Had its suggestions been followed the wretched and oppressed tribesmen of the Central Provinces might have become as happy as those in Bastar.

From Nagpur Grigson went to Hyderabad and spent some seven years there in a position of great influence. He held the portfolios of Revenue, Police, Supply, Local Government and Rural Reconstruction in the Nizam's Government. Here too he

was able to bring great and many benefits to the aboriginal population of the state. Some of his writings on this subject are collected in his small book *The Challenge of Backwardness*. In this he is remarkably outspoken: his pages, he observes, 'contain a great deal of unpleasant reading about an unpleasant state of affairs, which is not a credit to Hyderabad.' He was equally outspoken in his paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1945. Here he shows that for all his admiration for 'the useful and beautiful elements in tribal language and culture,' he regarded the economic and political aspect of the problem as most important. 'Teach the aboriginal to hold his head high in economic and political matters, and he will of his own accord re-assert his cultural autonomy.'

For his work in Hyderabad, Grigson received the C.S.I. in 1945 and was knighted two years later. On the expiry of his term of office under the Nizam's Government he went to Pakistan, where he met his death.

In a remarkable defence of scholarship and science, Baron von Hügel enumerates the intellectual virtues which find but a scanty development outside the life of the mind—'candour, moral courage, intellectual honesty, scrupulous accuracy, chivalrous fairness, endless docility to facts, disinterested collaboration, unconquerable hopefulness and perseverance, manly renunciation

of popularity and easy honours, love of bracing labour and strengthening solitude.' These qualities, which the anthropologist needs quite as much as the theologian, can be recognized in all the work to which Grigson set his hand; perhaps more particularly we may note his endless docility to facts and his genius for disinterested collaboration. He was indeed a wonderful friend, loyal and understanding, and a most witty and entertaining companion. He was a lover of the good things of life, yet he was always ready and was often compelled 'to scorn delights and live laborious days.' He was an exact and careful scholar and a good linguist, and he commanded an admirable English style. On occasion he could rise to the heights of true poetry, and the most beautiful things he ever wrote were his translations of Muria songs in *New Verse* (February–March, 1937).

But when I remember him what stands out above all else is his chivalrous love for the underdog and his intense interest and concern for everything to do with Indian aboriginals. He was impatient, as everyone who has studied the problem must be, with the slow pace of beneficial schemes and measures, and I think it is possible that in those last few terrible moments of his life the dying words of Cecil Rhodes, which he often used to quote, may have passed through his mind: 'So little done; so much to do.'

VERRIER ELWIN

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

A Scheme for the Development of a Museum of English Life and Traditions. *A memorandum prepared by the British Ethnography Committee of the Institute, in collaboration with the Folk-Lore Society*

In June, 1948, the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute appointed an Exploratory Committee on the Ethnography of Great Britain, under the chairmanship of Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., and charged it with the consideration of ways of promoting the ethnographical study of Great Britain in the light of the present state of such studies in this country and abroad. The members of the Committee are: Professor Fleure, chairman; Mr. T. W. Bagshawe, deputy chairman; the Officers of the Institute (Professor Daryll Forde, President; Mr. W. B. Fagg, Hon. Secretary; Mr. D. H. F. Wilson, Hon. Treasurer; and Dr. M. Fortes, Hon. Editor) *ex officio*; Miss B. M. Blackwood, Mr. H. J. Braunscholtz, Mr. A. Digby, Dr. H. S. Harrison, Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, Mr. J. M. Moge, Dr. I. C. Peate, Mr. R. N. Salaman, and Mr. R. U. Sayce.

At the Committee's first meeting it was agreed that the establishment of a national museum or museums for the study of British culture was the initial and essential step in any movement to place these studies upon a sound footing, and subsequent meetings have been devoted to the preparation of a scheme for such a museum. The Council of the Institute has now authorized publication of this scheme as printed below.

Communications on this subject may be addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Institute, 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

1. Introductory

Folk Museums and Folk Parks or Open-Air Museums have gradually sprung up on the Continent of Europe, particularly in Scandinavia, from the founding of the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm (1873) and its open-air section at Skansen in 1890, to the most recent establishment of the Musée National des Arts et

Traditions Populaires in Paris. Practically every European country has its National Folk Museum or Museum of Popular Art, except England. The lead in the British Isles has been taken by the National Museum of Wales with its Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans Castle, Cardiff. The Isle of Man has its Manx Village Folk Museum at Cregneash. Developments are expected in Scotland and in Northern Ireland.

It must, however, be appreciated that whereas no museum of a national character has been created in England, a certain amount of preservation of English folk or ethnographical material has taken place in provincial museums and by private individuals. There are also numerous museums in the form of 'period houses' up and down the country. The creation of a national museum or museums is in no way intended to interfere with the excellent work done by these local museums. It will supplement their work by collecting together objects of a size and type beyond the resources of the normal provincial museum and by providing a centre for co-ordinating aims and methods.

The need for a Folk Museum was stressed under 'Future Developments' in the *Final Report* issued in 1929 by the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries—in fact, the recommendation for its establishment followed that for the creation of a National Museum of Ethnography. A year before the deficiency had been pointed out by the late Sir Henry Miers in his *Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles* to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees. The Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries has also commented on the need for a Folk Museum in its *Reports*. In its *Third Report*, issued in 1948, after praising the pioneer work of the Welsh Folk Museum, it states: 'This Welsh initiative will be followed with the greatest interest and we hope that it will point the way to the similar museum for England which we have long advocated, though we recognize that in present conditions there can be no prospect of establishing a new museum with public funds and that there is no one single institution which would be the natural sponsor—or

even foster-parent—of a Folk Museum. Meantime we think it desirable that plans should be laid for the collection of material to form the nucleus of a Folk Museum later' (pp. 43f.).

2. Recommendation

The necessity for commencing work on the establishment of a national museum, with possible branches at a later date, is of exceptional and growing urgency because of the impetus given by the late war to the disappearance of the objects and traditions with which such a museum ought to be concerned. The need is even more urgent than is pleaded in the Standing Commission's Report. Fieldworkers stress the immediate necessity of saving perishable objects such as farm carts and waggons (now being offered for firewood at a pound or thirty shillings each), carriages, heavy agricultural implements, windmills, and so on. As road developments take place and housing problems ease so will the necessity of preserving early cottages arise as it already started to do before 1939. Much has been irrevocably lost.

3. Scope of Proposed Museum

The proposed museum should be concerned primarily with English culture, but should maintain small comparative collections from the other parts of the British Isles, in close liaison with corresponding museums in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and perhaps Eire; it should also set out to cover the comparative ethnology of all European peoples, thus filling the most serious gaps in the ethnographical study of the peoples of the world by the national museums in London.

A fundamental prerequisite of such a museum is that its approach should be strictly scientific and specifically ethnographical, and should thus be essentially different from that of the Victoria and Albert Museum and, to a lesser extent, of the Science Museum, but more in line with that of the British Museum.

As a general rule, only objects of later date than the accession of Henry VII (1485) should be accepted for inclusion in the collections, objects of earlier date being considered to come within the scope of archaeology.

4. Name

It has been suggested that the names 'Folk Museum,' 'Museum of Folk Culture,' or 'Museum of Popular Art and Traditions,' should be avoided in favour of 'The Museum of English Life and Traditions,' which might, as a shorter title, become known as 'The English Museum.'

5. Temporary Ways and Means

It is unlikely that the Government would embark on any ambitious scheme at the present time, particularly in view of the Standing Commission's recommendations as to precedence for work in national museums. It is therefore suggested that a scheme, formed on modest lines, be started independently and somewhat unconventionally forthwith, to be built up on a more ambitious scale at some future date. The need for collecting, preserving, cataloguing and storing material is the most pressing. Display can follow in its time.

6. Temporary Accommodation

Obtaining of storage space in the rooms and outbuildings of some large house within easy reach of London, and out of the smoky area, to act as a temporary headquarters and repository, and the raising of funds from philanthropic sources and by public appeal, are thought to be a first step towards a solution of the problem. About five other houses or parts of houses spaced

around England would also be needed. These could be used as regional repositories and might ultimately become branches of the museum for regional exhibition purposes. In addition to saving expense on the transport of specimens they would serve to evoke local enthusiasm for the project.

7. Collection of Specimens

In view of the progressive disappearance of suitable specimens, it is proposed to circularize provincial museums acquainting them of the scheme and suggesting that they should set aside from their own collections, or collect, any duplicate material suitable in their view for the new national museum. Liaison should be established with all interested bodies including existing national museums. It is thought that during the carrying-out of post-war re-arrangement programmes much material will be brought to light more suited to the Museum of English Life and Traditions than to local collections. It might even be a welcome solution to the storage problems which confront Directors and Curators of museums in London and the provinces.

Apart from gathering together and co-ordinating material which is already stored in museums, in private collectors' hands, or is offered in the normal way, collecting should also take place in the field. Farm buildings should be searched for old agricultural implements and there is a wealth of material to be collected among disappearing industries, trades and crafts in both town and country. Costumes need preserving. Where possible, and advisable, complete windmills, farm buildings, and cottages should be saved and stored to be re-erected at some later date in the open-air section of the museum. Provision should be made for the collection of plans, photographs and other records of buildings and objects which it is otherwise impracticable to preserve.

8. Organization

In the first instance, only a small staff would be required, consisting of administrative officers, trained in ethnography, and of technicians to supervise the collecting, preserving, recording and storage of material. The headquarters should be in the central repository near London, but members of the staff would be required to undertake work in other parts of England. Minimum requirements would be:

Director (who should preferably live in or near the central repository)

Assistant Curator (preferably with skill in draughtsmanship)

Secretary-Accountant

Librarian (responsible for books, MSS., photographs, cinematograph films, gramophone records, etc.)

Junior Assistant

Photographer-Technician

2 Technicians (for treatment and repair of specimens)

2 Building Staff (carpenters and joiners, available to be sent out in the field to remove and pack heavier objects)

Caretaker-cleaner for each of central and local repositories

Essential equipment would be a motor van, storage shelving and cupboards, library shelving, photographic studio, and office, laboratory and workshop equipment.

9. Future Policy

For a period of between five and ten years it might be necessary to confine the activities of the new museum organization to the collection, preservation, recording and storage of objects in its temporary premises. As conditions became easier, some large house of architectural and historic interest, within easy access of

London, and with its surrounding land (a minimum of 200 acres), might be made available or patriotically offered, as a permanent home for the Museum of English Life and Traditions and its open-air section. Regional branches could be opened as the opportunity arose. When this stage of its development has been reached it is to be hoped that the whole scheme may have attained Governmental support though, in view of the unconventionality of its work, it should be given as much independence and freedom of action as is reasonably possible.

Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee. *A note communicated by H. H. Coghlan, F.S.A., Chairman*

50 Shortly after the end of the late war, the Royal Anthropological Institute formed a committee, with representatives of various branches of science concerned, to investigate various problems of ancient mining and metallurgy, and this committee is at the service of archaeologists and others who wish for assistance upon such problems. It is also very willing to advise excavators concerning the technology of metal tools and other artifacts, and in certain cases to carry out complete analyses of such material.

One of the most crucial problems in the study of the development of technology and applied science is the extent to which native copper was used in prehistoric times, and how far the discoveries

of its properties of malleability and fusibility preceded that of the art of extracting copper from its ores. It is generally admitted that native copper was used before smelted copper. Indeed, one school holds that early metal-using cultures were dependent upon native copper for a considerable time, so that there would be two phases in intelligent metallurgy (apart from a supposedly still earlier phase in which, as in pre-Columbian North America, copper was worked cold as a superior kind of stone). We badly need data to determine how far cultures using only native copper preceded those using the smelted copper, but this is bound up with a further problem, namely the best method of distinguishing the native copper from metal derived from oxidised ore.

These questions are not easy to answer and as it seemed most necessary to clear up such an unsatisfactory position, the Committee started to investigate the problem and have issued a preliminary report (see MAN, 1948, 3 and 17). In a measure this report cleared the ground by stating the difficulties to be overcome. In order to make further progress, a large body of material must be examined, and therefore archaeologists are asked to advise the Secretary of the Committee (Miss S. Benton, F.S.A., c/o Royal Anthropological Institute, 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1) of material from early cultures of which they have knowledge, or which they could send for examination and report.

SHORTER NOTES

Physical Anthropology in the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies since 1939. *By Dr. A. J. van Bork-Felikamp, Royal Institute for the Indies, Amsterdam*

51 For various reasons no report was made on war-time activities in the Netherlands or in the East or West Indies on the occasion of the meeting in England in 1946 of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. I am glad to be able to correct the omission for physical anthropology.

In the Netherlands in 1936 there had been set up a Foundation for the Study of the Population in the Reclaimed Zuiderzee Polders. The authorities have reclaimed or are in process of reclaiming nearly the whole of the Zuiderzee,¹ and the Foundation's purpose is to carry out anthropological investigation in the new land. It has also studied, partly from skeletal material, the inhabitants of two small islands which were about to be joined up to one of the polders. This work has been based on considerations which are to be found, for instance, in the paper read to the Permanent Council at Oxford by Stolyhwo (MAN, 1946, 75). The Foundation carried on its work through the first years of the war, and special mention should be made of Dr. de Froe and of some of his students, as well as of Dr. Louise Kaiser, who is connected with the Foundation and works at a special laboratory of phonetics.

As a result of work started before the war there appeared an important treatise on the populations of Bali and Lombok and also an article on prehistoric skulls of the island of Sumba, both from the hand of Kleiweg de Zwaan; and I compiled a supplement to his bibliography of the East and West Indies, published under the auspices of the Royal Institute for the Indies.

At Leyden University the Department of Anatomy carried on anthropological investigations of various kinds. Much work was done on the mass of data collected by Father Vroklage during his travels in Timor and Flores; the material on the inhabitants of Belu (Timor) is being dealt with by Professor Barge, and some of his publications have already appeared; an important thesis by Lammers on the population of Dawan (Timor) has been

published; and Professor Dankmeyer is treating the data on Manggarai (Flores). Dankmeyer also published at the end of 1947 an article on the fingerprints of African pygmies and negroes collected by Julien before the war. Lammers started an extensive examination of the anthropological characteristics of school-children at Leyden. In the laboratory study has begun of the heredity of fingerprints.

Renes continued his study of fingerprints in the Netherlands Indies and in June, 1946, published his results on asymmetry. In collaboration with Maseland he has completed an investigation, as yet unpublished, of fingerprints at the Dutch village of Wouw. Shortly after the liberation he left for the East Indies and lectured on anthropology at the emergency university at Batavia. He has now returned to the Netherlands, bringing with him an anthropological collection.

Besides his work on the Zuiderzee polders, de Froe was engaged in the designing of new instruments, some of which have been published, and in studies of constitution, anthropogenesis, pigmentation, growth, fingerprints and lines of the hand, and general anthropology. He has recently published a book on anthropobiology. Some of his students carried out research under his supervision or in collaboration with him; one of them, Huizinga, has written a thesis on the cephalometric connexion between relatives in the first degree.

During the occupation various publishers brought out series of popular scientific booklets, and among the contributors were Kleiweg de Zwaan and Bijlmer (who is now in Java). Publication of the anthropobiological magazine *Afkomst en Toekomst*, edited by the geneticist Sirks, ceased in 1941 and is unlikely to be resumed.

The scientific work of Julien in Africa was interrupted by the war, but he was able to go to Portugal in 1945 and to southern Morocco in 1946. He returned in the spring of 1948 from an expedition to East Africa during which he collected various anthropological data, particularly on blood-group distributions, including those of the Rhesus factor.

Stefanie Oppenheim, widow of Rudolf Martin, had established herself at Utrecht before the war, and is now working there again after being deported and spending a period at the Theresienstadt concentration camp.

The Nederlandsch Nationaal Bureau voor Anthropologie continued its activities after 1940, but found it advisable to suspend them some two years later, as happened to numerous societies which remained in being without doing any visible work. Thus Professor Kleiweg de Zwaan, who had founded the Bureau, silently resigned as Chairman in 1944, and was succeeded by Professor Ariëns Kappers, who died unexpectedly in 1946, his place being taken in 1947 by Dr. Julien. The Bureau, which had come into existence as the Dutch branch of the Institut international d'Anthropologie at Paris, hardly lived up to the statutes as such; the present committee is therefore considering their alteration to bring them more into line with practical conditions, and plans are being made for a fusion between the Bureau and the older Nederlandsche Anthropologische Vereeniging.

In 1939 a plan was made to establish an anthropological museum in Amsterdam similar to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, but without the ethnological department so as to avoid competition with existing museums. The new museum, which must be considered a daughter institution of the Bureau, received a legacy on Liberation Day, but unfortunately times are too difficult to start building or furnishing it, though its anthropological and prehistoric collections and its library are being increased in the meantime.

From a historical point of view, it may be of interest to record the efforts which some anthropologists made to save the lives of Jews, who, when they claimed to have been unjustly registered as non-Aryan, were entitled to appeal to a special enemy instance for the purpose. The case would be defended by a lawyer who collected all the evidence in order to clear up the 'misunderstanding'; the occupying power also expected to find an anthropological report in the file. In these cases an 'Aryan' placed himself at the disposal of the Jew, pretending to be his natural father or brother, and the examination was intended to show that the resemblance was greater to him than to the lawful father. How much value these reports had cannot be accurately said, because the lawyers also took great trouble to make their arguments conclusive. It will be interesting to know whether other occupied countries² adopted similar expedients. A treatise was also written explaining that the Sephardim were not Jews according to anthropology. Extraordinary was the behaviour of a German anthropologist of great repute who was in the Netherlands in 1943. He pretended to examine Jews for that same purpose, even giving instructions to the Dutch anthropologists. It is a known fact that he charged the Jews considerable sums of money, whereas it was also known that the Jews were not allowed to have money in their possession; the Dutch, of course, made no charge. Their examination was most careful, but the record was not always strictly scientific.

In April, 1948, a request was made to a Dutch anthropologist by someone who needed a certificate to the effect that he was of non-Semitic ancestry for immigration to a South American state. This underlines the need for a commission on matters of race discrimination such as has been established by the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences meeting at Brussels last summer.

Before the war anthropological research was carried on at two centres in the Dutch East Indies: one was at the medical school at Batavia with Professor Mijsberg as leader, the other consisted of a group of medical men living in Sumatra who had been interested in the work by Maasland (not to be confused with Maseland, mentioned above). In the first instance Maasland had worked on

blood-grouping. The Japanese must bear responsibility for his death from exhaustion during the occupation, which is a great loss. With the present improvement of the situation in Indonesia we may expect that his last manuscripts may yet be found.

It was natural that we had to await the defeat of the Japanese for news of what had taken place in the Indies during the preceding years. It was then learnt that Mijsberg had read a paper at the Prehistoric Congress in Singapore on a neolithic lower jaw from the Straits Settlements (Guaah Kepah) and had also published a paper on the Toala question. He, for his part, heard for the first time that two of his studies on the body length had been published in the Netherlands. Mijsberg has now returned to the Netherlands bringing an important collection of teeth with him; he has succeeded Professor van den Broek as head of the Department of Anatomy at Utrecht University.

Among Mijsberg's co-workers one may mention Miss Keers, who in 1937 went on a research trip to Sumba, Flores, Timor and Celebes; at the outbreak of war she was engaged in working up this material. She was energetic enough to finish her manuscripts during her stay in the concentration camp, and managed to keep them out of the hands of the Japanese. After her return to the Netherlands the publication was issued by the Royal Institute for the Indies.

Others who returned from the Indies were Nieuwenhuis and van Beukering; the former collected a mass of material on the inhabitants of the Tengger (now published) and the latter had with him a manuscript on the Mentawai people, a study which was due to Maasland's influence. In 1947 he published this excellent thesis, and has since paid another visit to the Indies.

Brouwer, who does not belong to the above groups of workers, has attracted attention before with his treatise on Alor; he joined in 1937 the Royal Dutch Geographical Society's expedition to New Guinea. At the outbreak of war he was busy working out data of 1,500 individuals (600 women). The precautions he took to prevent the Japanese seizing his notes were in vain, and their loss is to be greatly regretted. He was confined in prisoner-of-war camps in Burma and Siam, and afterwards returned temporarily to the Netherlands, where he worked on skeletal material from Papua.

Palaeontological anthropology was not the concern of the above-mentioned centres but was in the care of Dr. von Koenigswald at Bandung. It became known only in 1945 that shortly before the Japanese invasion he had found two fragments of jaws which differed by their large size from the *Pithecanthropus* remains and were attributed by him to a female and a male of a species which he named *Meganthropus paleojavanicus*. Before the catastrophe casts had been sent to Weidenreich, and it was a surprise to learn, after our liberation, to what far-reaching conclusions the male specimen led him when considered with the large teeth (*Gigantopithecus blacki*) found earlier by von Koenigswald; Weidenreich did not regard the female as hominid. After having been in a military prisoners' camp, von Koenigswald went to the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and has now been made Professor at Utrecht University; he brought with him to Holland all the original *Pithecanthropus* finds and the collection of Ngandong skulls (*Homo soloensis*). The discoverer of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, Dubois, died of old age during the occupation.

In the West Indies Professor Droogleever Fortuyn examined 27 Oajana Indians.

A few months ago the use of a mobile laboratory was decided upon for the anthropological examination of the Dutch people. A scientific team which was studying the Rhesus problem, though not with the aim primarily of serving anthropology, was able to provide us with a preliminary survey of the distribution of this blood group in the Dutch people.

In 1948 the Pieter Langenhuizen fund was established for an anthropological purpose (excavations).

The vacancy caused at the Institute for the Indies in 1939 by the resignation of Kleiweg de Zwaan as Professor of Anthropology and Prehistory has up to now been filled only as far as the latter science is concerned.

Anthropology is only exceptionally carried on in Holland and the Indies by special anthropologists, most of this work being done by medical men or anatomists who have anthropological interests.

Notes

¹ The work was being carried on in four large polders when war broke out; one had already been under cultivation for some years and another was completely dry. Shortly before liberation the enemy inundated the first polder (of 9,420 acres) by blasting the dyke and letting 600 million cubic metres of water through; the land was flooded to an average depth of four metres.

² Czecho-Slovakia? Cf. MAN, 1946, 116.

XXIX International Congress of Americanists, New York, September, 1949: First Circular

52 The XXIX Session of the International Congress of Americanists will be held in New York during the week beginning 5 September, 1949. The objective of the Congress, which has met at two-year intervals in European and American

scientific centres since 1875, is the historic and scientific study of the two Americas and their inhabitants. The subjects to be considered at the present session will be the history and exploration, the prehistory and archaeology, the social anthropology and ethnology, the languages, the physical anthropology, the human geography, and contemporary social problems of the Americas. The session will be sponsored by the Viking Fund, Incorporated, of New York. The American Anthropological Association, in collaboration with several other scientific societies of the United States, will act as host. Meetings will be held in the lecture rooms of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

Scientific institutions interested in Americanist subjects are respectfully requested to nominate delegates. Individuals who plan to attend the Congress may enrol in advance as members by letter to the International Congress of Americanists, 14 East 71 Street, New York 21, New York, enclosing a cheque made payable to Wendell C. Bennett, Treasurer. The individual membership fee is \$10.00. If international currency restrictions make advance payment difficult, the fee may be paid after arrival in New York provided membership is requested in advance. Libraries and institutions who wish to receive the published proceedings of the session should enrol as members of the Congress.

All inquiries should be addressed to the XXIX International Congress of Americanists, 14 East 71 Street, New York 21, New York, U.S.A.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature.
53 By Henri Frankfort. Univ. of Chicago Press, and Cambridge Univ. Press, 1948. Pp. xix, 444, and illustrations

This brilliant and excellently written study of the kingship in ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia is one of the most important contributions to an understanding of the nature of the institution of kingship which has yet been made. Although it treats of the institution in countries where much is known of its historical development chronology is subordinated to sociological analysis. Its purpose is to describe and interpret the position of the kingship in ancient Egypt and in ancient Mesopotamia and to compare the institution in the two societies. In an epilogue the common features of Egyptian and Mesopotamian kingship are contrasted with features of the kingship of the ancient Hebrews.

The common and essential quality of the kingship in Egypt and Mesopotamia is its central position within both the political and the cosmological systems of the two societies. The kingship is as necessary for the orderly functioning of nature as it is for the orderly functioning of society, natural order and social order being different aspects of an inclusive moral order of the universe. This dogma is more clearly expressed in Egyptian than in Mesopotamian thought: in Egypt the king is a god among the gods and maintains the divine order, reflected in both the sequences of nature and the social structure, in his own right; in Mesopotamia he maintains it as a servant of the gods. In Egypt he is a 'divine king,' in Mesopotamia a 'priest-king.'

This thesis is elaborated in a manner which illumines the political and cosmological systems not only of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, but also of many primitive peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The book is therefore of first importance for the comparative study of primitive kingship. The elaboration consists in showing the pivotal position of the kingship in relation to the territorial segments of the kingdom, in public ritual, in mythology, and in the configuration of religious beliefs.

I am not competent to express an opinion on the particular interpretations the author places on the archaeological, artistic, and

literary evidences he cites. They are supported by references to, and quotations from, a wide range of leading authorities in voluminous notes at the end of the book. I can, however, say that the sociological method which the author employs and the manner in which he formulates his theoretical conclusions enable the student of social anthropology to pass easily, as the author himself does, not only from ancient Egypt to ancient Mesopotamia but also from these societies to primitive societies in which the kingship is the central institution. In using material from contemporaneous African peoples the author states that his interpretations do not in any way rest on these extraneous evidences, which are cited merely to confirm them, but solely on an analysis of the cultures of the ancient Near East which are under review. He is wise to have inserted this caution, for some of the ethnological hypotheses he makes most use of, in particular those ascribing divine or semi-divine attributes to kings and rain-makers in East Africa and those claiming that cattle in the same region have certain ritual and psychological significances, are still *sub judice*. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

The Museum: Its History and its Tasks in Education. By Alma S. Wittlin. London (Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. xv, 297, with 24 plates and 8 text figures. Price 25s.

54 This book, or essay as it is termed, is divided into two parts. The first deals with the history of the museum and is a mass of illuminating facts. The second part suggests how the museum could play a vital part in the educational and cultural world of to-day. The whole lacks the easy, lucid style adopted by the late Sir Henry Miers in his report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees (1928).

It is a pity that the author could not have brought her facts up to date before publishing her work. For instance, reference 9 on pp. 182f., dealing with folk museums in Great Britain, should have been checked by the Museums Association before it was printed, to incorporate the latest information. One misses, too, an appreciation of the stimulating influence of the Scandinavian museums, particularly in the treatment of the Ethnographical Collections at the National Museum in Copenhagen. There is no mention, either, of

the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in the Palais de Chaillot, Paris. The Historic Houses and Historic House Museums in this country are surely worthy of mention.

It is interesting to learn that the Ashmolean Museum, opened in 1683, was probably the earliest public museum of Europe.

How rightly the author points out that a great number of museum exhibitions 'comparable to scrap notebooks' continue to exist! She also advocates improvements in museum architecture. But let us hope that political aspects may never guide museum technique in this country. THOMAS W. BAGSHAW

Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure, de l'Inde et de la Crète, depuis les origines jusqu'au début du second millénaire.

55 By Bedřich Hrozný. French translation. Paris (Payot), 1947. Pp. 352, 3 maps, 144 figures and photographic plates. Price 8,400 francs

Professor Bedřich Hrozný, of the Charles IV University in Prague, is best known by his widely accepted decipherment of the Hittite 'hieroglyphic' inscriptions, and by his work on the cuneiform archives of the Hittite capital at Boghazkioi. He has also propounded a bold and ingenious interpretation of the inscribed amulets from Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus civilization, and more recently has attempted the translation of those Minoan tablets from Knossos which are published in Sir Arthur Evans' *Palace of Minos IV*. He has also devoted much attention to the prehistoric philology and ethnology of the Nearer East, and especially of the Indo-European-speaking peoples.

Here is a closely written presentation of his general views on early Oriental history down to the second millennium. Over large periods and regions, it summarizes current knowledge and is very well up to date; but the reader must be warned that Professor Hrozný has many original views of his own, and that he uses them with great confidence to interpret his encyclopædic knowledge.

He begins with a retrospect of discoveries and of the chronological problems, where he accepts the lower dates proposed by Sidney Smith (*Alalakh and Chronology*) and by Ungnad (*Arch. f. Orientforschung*, Vol. XIII (1940), p. 146). He therefore places Hammurabi about 1791-1749 B.C., Sargon about 2400 and the founder of the first dynasty of Uruk about 2900: with the caution that further reductions may be necessary (*cf.* Böhl, *King Hammurabi*, Amsterdam, 1945).

A summary of palæolithic and neolithic discoveries in Palestine leads to the earliest periods in Mesopotamia—at Tell-Halîf and El Obeid, then at Uruk and Jemdet-Nasr. Hrozný derives the Sumerians from Asia east of the Caspian, with offshoots into Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor: they include from the first, he thinks, two distinct physical types, long-headed and round-headed—the latter perhaps superimposed on aborigines of 'Mediterranean' type, but derived from central Asia like those of Anatolia. Later, both Semites in Western Asia, and Hamites in Africa, spread from the same Asiatic cradle.

This is all rather speculative. More definite is the role assigned to the 'Caspian' and 'Caucasian' peoples (ch. VIII), with the Spanish Iberians linked philologically with those of Caucasus, and Kas-names scattered from Kasakstan to Kish and to Kushshar (Alaja-Eyük) in Anatolia. These topographical points might well buttress such a thesis, otherwise established: they are but slender foundation for it.

The map is thus spread for the 'first migrations' and especially for the apparition of Indo-Europeans, long-headed folk from the Kirghiz steppe. Similar migrations from central Asia to the East, to America, Polynesia and Australia are noted in passing.

The outline of Mesopotamian dynastic history from about 2900 B.C. to Hammurabi (c. 1750 B.C.), and of Sumerian and Accadian culture, follows conventional lines. But fresh ground is broken for the Hittites and Subareans, Indo-European invaders of Anatolia early in the third millennium. The convenient distinction between 'cuneiform' Hittites in the second millennium, and 'hieroglyphic' Hittites from about 1500 to 800 B.C., is somewhat blurred by the attribution to 'hieroglyphic' Hittites of the engraved amulets of Mohenjodaro, which are dated about 2500 B.C. Where had the 'hieroglyphic' Hittites concealed themselves and their

script during the thousand years which intervened, including the whole period of the 'cuneiform' Hittites? Or should the Indus Valley culture be dated lower? This summary of Hittite history and civilization is the most valuable part of the book; and it is largely drawn from Hrozný's own work. He brings the Hittites from the steppes by the route between Caspian and Caucasus—not, as is sometimes supposed, by way of the Marmara region—though their language belongs to the western or *centum* division of Indo-European speech. He distinguishes between invaders and indigenous elements in Anatolia, and between the Indo-European *ndshili* language, and the *lulli* ('Luvian') of Arázava in the south-east—Cilicia and Isauria—which the *ndshili* Hittites regarded as inferior. Further east again stand the *Hurri* peoples of northern Mesopotamia (Osrhoëne) and the *Mitanni*. The latter, Hrozný thinks, may be of more easterly origin, and related to the *Manda* and later Medes.

All the above are revealed in the cuneiform archives of Boghazkioi, the Hittite capital on the plateau. The hieroglyphic inscriptions, which begin about 1530 B.C., and go on at Carchemish and other Syrian sites till about 717 B.C., are assumed to have a long previous history (as above) in a common fatherland of Hittites and Proto-Indians. Only the discovery of some earlier texts can support this bold guess. The latter resurrection of 'hieroglyphic' Hittites is attributed to the destruction of the Semitized 'cuneiform' régime by the northern nations intruding into Anatolia about 1200 B.C. The chapters (XIV and XV) on the history and culture of the Hittites summarize the vast amount of information extracted from the cuneiform archives.

Thus far, Hrozný's history follows and in some respects expands the textbook accounts of the Ancient East. The remainder of the book is more speculative. The stone amulets of the Indus Valley cities, Mohenjodaro and Harappa, bear representations of bulls, elephants and other animals and scenes, accompanied by short inscriptions in linear characters some of which resemble Hittite 'hieroglyphs,' though not very closely. They have been supposed to be owners' names. Relying on Hittite vocalizations, Hrozný renders them as names of deities, and regards the animals as votive. Some of the deities he identifies with Hittite gods. It may be noted, however, how often in ancient languages the names of deities form an essential part, or almost the whole, of personal names: also that a wheel-shaped sign—very common as an initial on the amulets—is interpreted by Hrozný himself as 'seal of. . .'. Do deities have seals—or their votaries? The immense chronological interval between the date here assigned to Mohenjodaro and the earliest Hittite hieroglyph seals has been noted already. But the scanty evidence for Mohenjodaro—very few of these inscribed amulets are from Sumerian sites—is insufficient to establish a date, in the absence of the counterpart evidence of Mesopotamian imports on Indus Valley sites: and even the stratigraphical evidence for the amulets on Sumerian sites is not very satisfactory. Thus dated—for what it is worth—the irruption of 'hieroglyphic' Hittites into the Indus Valley is regarded as having long preceded that of the 'Sancrit' Indo-Europeans of the fifteenth century.

Finally, there is the problem of Crete, presented especially by the Minoan system of writing. Hrozný has already indicated his belief that Crete and the Ægean were populated from Asia Minor, and this is quite likely, though Anatolian long-heads cannot be distinguished from 'Hamitic,' and Anatolian broad-heads only become common either in Crete or in the Ægean rather late in the Bronze Age, and rather locally. Moreover, the earliest culture, both in Crete and in the Cyclades, is not Anatolian at all, but akin to late neolithic types on the Syrian coast, in Sicily, Sardinia and Spain: Anatolian techniques of pottery appear gradually during the Bronze Age. It cannot therefore be assumed that the earliest language here was Anatolian, though a large number of the pre-Hellenic place-names are of West Anatolian types.

Even more over-simplified is the assertion, based on an obscure passage in the annals of Sargon of Accad about an adventure overseas, and a 'country of lead,' that he established an Accadian 'colony' in Crete, and worked the silver mines of Attica, and that consequently Semitic place-names and other words may be expected in Cretan documents. Mesopotamian cylinders are exceedingly rare in Crete, and relatively late; and the foreign contacts of Crete

throughout the Bronze Age are almost wholly with Egypt, not with Anatolia. Even the unique 'Phaistos Disk' is related rather to Mesopotamian pictograms than to any Hittite 'hieroglyphs.'

All this is not a very good background for the translation of the Knossian tablets in linear Cretan scripts. Moreover, only a tenth of these have been published, and Hrozný is not very well acquainted with the linear signs, in his recent detailed papers in *Archiv Orientalni*, Vols. XIV and XV. Though he rejects the very probable affiliation of the Cypriote Syllabary of classical times to the Minoan script, he accepts several equations with the Cypriote signs as starting point for his phonetic renderings of the Minoan; adds many comparisons with Hittite 'hieroglyphs,' the earliest known examples of which are no earlier than the Minoan linear signs; and, assuming that the sign groups on the tablets are place-names, elaborates an amazing topography of Cretan and Aegean intercourse. The more probable view, that the sign groups are personal names, as their places in the formulae would suggest, he rejects without discussion: but then, there is no such wealth of pre-Hellenic personal names for his purpose. To facilitate transcription, he assigns the same phonetic value to several different signs, and regards some of the signs, most frequent as initials in groups, as symbols for 'holy place,' 'administrative centre,' and the like.

In one of the Cretan sign-groups Hrozný detects the place-name *A-hi-ya-ra*, and this lets loose a flood of learned reconstruction of the history of the *Ahhiyavā* in Hittite annals, who have been

identified with the 'Achaeans' of Homer. Comparison of the Greek place-name *Alalkomenai*—not yet found, however, in the Minoan tablets—with *Alalakh*, the site excavated by Woolley on the lower Orontes, and of the cultivation of saffron in Crete and in Cilicia—the logic is that of Fluellen—leads to the derivation of the 'Creto-Pelasgian' population from south-east Anatolia and North Syria, in the latter part of the third millennium. This is nowhere correlated with his earlier West Anatolian source for Cretan and Aegean peoples. A similar suggestion was made by Beloch about 1890, but without adequate support. Hrozný promises to develop his views on Crete in a subsequent book. For the moment, one may suspend judgment, and press urgently for some facts. From this reviewer's knowledge of the unpublished archives of Knossos, there is little confirmation to be expected from them.

In general, Hrozný's book illustrates—not for the first time—the risks of intensive philological study, uncoordinated with ethnology and archaeology. Without attempting equations between language and material culture, there are many points at which the stratigraphical record precludes some very tempting comparisons. And it must always be remembered that archaeological material at all events consists of originals, immutable across the ages, and straight from the hand of the maker; whereas sounds and words, once spoken, vanish in the air, and have to be recovered through signs and symbols of various degrees of accuracy, at least in pre-alphabetic times.

JOHN L. MYRES

ASIA

A House in Bali. By Colin McPhee. London (Gollancz), 1947. Pp. 214, illustrated. Price 18s.

56 The author spent five years in Bali, studying and recording its music. The book throws some incidental light on the customs and ideas of the Balinese, but is mainly concerned with the way in which dancers, singers and musicians are trained and their performances organized. Whatever may have been the case in former times, all this is now a matter rather of fashion than of custom, and the fashions vary from village to village. Boredom, quarrels, or the lack of a competent leader may cause a village to cease its performances, later to revive them under a teacher from outside.

The themes of the dances are all traditional, and the music has to be adapted to them, but there are individual composers who attain a local celebrity. Whether as performers or merely as spectators, the Balinese find music and dancing a subject of absorbing interest.

RAGLAN

Art in Central Celebes, Vol. VI. By Walter Kaudern (ed. Mrs. Teres Kaudern and Henry Wassén, Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, 1944. Pp. xvii, 446, with 68 plates, 271 text figures and 4 maps.

57 The sixth volume in the series 'Ethnographical Studies in Celebes' by Walter Kaudern covers the applied art of the Paloe, Paso and Koro Toradja tribes of Central Celebes. It is lavishly illustrated throughout the text and an appendix with line drawings and colour plates. The colour plates deal with the painted, block-printed, appliqued and embroidered bast and cotton cloths used for garments and it is in this group that decorative art reaches its highest standard. Men's head cloths (*sigu*), cylindrical garments used also for carrying purposes by both men and women (*koemoe*), women's tunics (*haliti*), some head bands and sashes are almost entirely covered with patterns. The designs are chiefly geometrical with a few conventional motives having some significance, e.g. buffalo horns. The ground is often divided into fields, each with its special pattern, and the colours used are crimson, lilac, yellow, green, with black. Local plants can supply all the colours, but aniline dyes are now obtainable in the coast towns and their use is increasing.

Carving and engraving on wood, bamboo, gourds and horn is second in importance; buffalo horns, phallic motives and a few zoomorphs adorn temple posts, doors, wall planks and the ends of roof shingles. Roughly shaped human figures are used in temple ceremonies and amongst other sacerdotal sculptures are the wooden masks (*pemid*), which the Poso Toradja fasten to the parcel containing

the cleaned bones of the dead. Hilts and sheaths of knives and swords made of wood and bamboo are often finely carved with conventional designs and, occasionally, plant forms. Space does not permit discussion of such work as plaiting vegetable fibres into baskets, head rings and seat mats; or the making of ritual figures (*idjock*) and objects.

The comparative section is not as full as the author intended, but such patterns as the buffalo head and the female figure between the horns of a bull are traced to Indian mythology, whilst the folded appliqué technique has its prototype in Shan, Kachin and Miao specimens. Examples from the Sarasin collection and from Adriani and Kruyt have been included by the author to make his survey as complete as possible and are therefore of great value to students of primitive art.

LAURA E. START

Ugaritic Mythology: A Study of its Leading Motifs. By Julian Obermann. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press) and London (Oxford Univ. Press), 1948. Pp. xxiv, 110, illustrated. Price \$2.75.

58 This is actually a study of one motif only, that known as the 'Building Saga.' In this myth Baal, having married three brides, is anxious to build a house, but is prevented by his enemies, who are headed by Mot. He sends to his sister Anat, asking her to obtain permission for him to build from his father El, and also for help against Mot. She is successful in both, and Baal sends for the master-builder Hayin, who builds him a house of gold and silver.

There are numerous obscurities in the story, and some of these the author seeks to elucidate by making scholarly, but necessarily tentative, emendations to the translations of Virolleaud and others.

He points out (p. 87) the resemblance between the last part of the myth and the story of Solomon's temple.

His repeated use of the term 'folklore' in discussing these priestly texts seems unwarranted.

RAGLAN

Kurds and Kurdistan. By Arshak Safrastian. London (Harvill Press), 1948. Pp. 106, with 4 illustrations, end-paper maps. Price 7s. 6d.

59 This little book provides an excellent introduction to the three thousand years of history that form the background to present-day Kurdish nationalism. Though frankly propagandist it is solidly based in mature erudition and is pleasantly free from the crude exaggerations of fact that so often disfigure political literature.

For anyone with some knowledge of the confused ethnography of the Kurdish region the book is highly tantalizing. It is clear from

footnotes and passing references that the author has a really intimate knowledge of his materials, but a concrete presentation of this data is lacking. An annotated map which defined in scale and territory all the different Kurdish 'tribal' groups mentioned by the author would have been invaluable. As it is, the anthropologist can only take this book as a reminder that the existing classifications of

Kurdish tribes, such as those of Sykes (1908) and Driver (1919), are due for a thorough-going revision in the light of recent political developments and our improved understanding of the nature of tribal entities. Dr. Safrastian's book contains numerous useful footnote references but no general bibliography. The photographs are attractive but too few.

E. R. LEACH

CORRESPONDENCE

Tree-Fern Sago. Cf. MAN, 1948, 156

60 SIR,—The following note bears on Mr. C. R. Stonor's article on tree-fern sago in the eastern Himalayan region. In September, 1943, when at Kawnglangphu in the Nung-Lisu country at the junction of the Ahkyang and the Nam Tamai (E. 98° 30'; N. 27° 00') I recorded a list of subsidiary food-stuffs available to the local population in times of scarcity. Three consecutive items on my list are '*majawng*—a species of fern tuber; *tup* (? *tuk*)—a tree fern; *ulai*—a kind of sago palm.' Of the *ulai* I noted further '*ulai* is cultivated and is mature after about 50 years. The pith is shredded and the resulting fibre soaked and trodden through sieves in running water. The running water carries off a fine flour which is amenable to cooking in various ways.' I recorded nothing further about *tup*. My recollection is that it was reported as uncultivated, relatively scarce, and processed in much the same manner as *ulai*. The long maturation period of *ulai* tallies with the forty years given by Stonor for his tree ferns. Similarly I was assured that a man planted *ulai* for the benefit of his grandchildren. If this statement be accepted it throws doubt on my description of *ulai* as a 'sago palm.' This term appears to be somewhat indiscriminately used both by amateur and professional botanists with regard to the forests of Burma and Assam. Kingdon Ward (*In Farthest Burma*, 1921) frequently mentions the presence of sago palms in the Nam Tamai area but does not specify the variety; J. P. Mills on the other hand (*The Rengma Nagas*, 1937, p. 38) identifies the Assam sago palm as *Caryota urens*, a species more usually known as the Kirtul palm. The ordinary sago palm of the Netherlands Indies is *Metroxylon*. Neither of these species satisfies the requirements of the Nung *ulai* since each stem of *Metroxylon* matures in about twelve years while *Caryota* dies altogether after about twenty-five years (see I. H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 1935).

It appears therefore that quite apart from the question of the distribution of tree-fern sago-making, there is the more general problem of the botanical identification of other sago-producing species native to the area and loosely described as 'sago palms.'

London School of Economics

E. R. LEACH

Mr. Frankfort and the Hamites. Cf. MAN, 1949, 53

61 SIR,—In his recent and learned book *Kingship and the Gods*, Mr. Frankfort's thesis is that the culture of Ancient Egypt was entirely separate both in origin and in character from that of Asia, so much so that all differences are fundamental while resemblances are merely superficial. On the other hand he identifies the king cult and cattle cult of Egypt with those of the Upper Nile and East Africa, and attributes this identity to the community of race between the Egyptians and such 'Hamites' as the Shiluk and Baganda. The cattle of East Africa, as well as the cattle cult, he supposes to be indigenous.

Thus he says that Egyptian culture arose out of a 'great African substratum' (p. 6); that the Banyoro and Zande 'derive from the old Hamitic substratum' (p. 360); that the Shiluk are 'related to the Ancient Egyptians' (p. 199); that the Baganda are 'related by linguistic and physical traits to the Ancient Egyptians' (p. 70); that the Masai speak a Hamitic language (p. 348); that Osiris is a 'characteristically African figure' (p. 290). As for the cattle cult, he says that it derives from a 'pristine' people's 'primitive exploitation of the environment' (p. 163).

Cultural resemblances between the Ancient Egyptians and the modern peoples of East (and West) Africa are clear, but to attribute them to a 'Hamitic substratum' is to go not merely beyond but against all the evidence. Seligman (in *Races of Africa*) says that the

Hamites are Caucasians, and that it is agreed that their cradleland was in Asia. It is dangerous to equate language with race, but it seems certain that the Hamitic languages were introduced into Africa by people with fair skin and straight hair, such as are the majority of those who now speak them. These peoples are ignored by Mr. Frankfort, who is obviously unaware that the Nilotic and Bantu language groups are very different not only from Hamitic but from each other.

Some of the tribes of this region have been described as 'Half-Hamites,' but the 'half' would seem to be a small one. The Shiluk, for example, are perhaps the blackest people on earth, and differ from other Negroes only in that their features are somewhat more refined. They may owe this trait to a Hamitic cross, but this is mere hypothesis; Caucasian-Negro crossing has not elsewhere produced similar results. In any case if there is a Hamitic element in East Africa, it is not an early substratum but a late superstratum.

Many tribes show no trace of anything like the Osiris cult. Mr. Frankfort has followed the too common practice of picking out an isolated belief here and an isolated custom there, and combining the result into a complex which he represents as characteristic of the whole region.

The domestication of cattle, whatever else may be said about it, was certainly not pristine in East Africa.

Theories are legitimate so long as they are based upon, and distinguished from, fact; Mr. Frankfort's are neither.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

South African Prehistory in the War Years. Cf. MAN, 1948, 132

62 SIR,—In Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin's synopsis of South African Prehistory in the War Years: Part II, reference is made to the correlation of the Pleistocene succession undertaken by Geoffrey Bond and Neville Jones at Lochard and other sites on the 'high veldt' in the Bulawayo area of Southern Rhodesia. In comparing the succession obtained by these workers with that obtained in the Victoria Falls area of the upper Zambezi Valley by H. B. S. Cooke and myself during 1938, Mr. Goodwin states that some discrepancy exists between the correlations in the two areas and that the former work does not take into account that of Cooke and myself.

Through no fault of his own, as the material and evidence has not yet been published, Mr. Goodwin was not in a position to know that the tentative correlation for the area in the immediate vicinity of the Victoria Falls and the upper five gorges had later been modified by Dr. F. Dixey and myself in 1939 after working over a much wider area above and below the Falls. Our revised succession, which has been found to hold good for the whole of the upper Zambezi Valley from the Falls as far as the Sesheke Plain, some seventy miles up-river, was available (in typescript) to Bond, who has correlated his Bulawayo sites with this revised succession in the upper Zambezi; this correlation is shown in Table 2 of Bond's paper. The correlation between the two areas is an extremely close one, the major variation being, as might perhaps be expected in a large river valley of the size of the Zambezi, that the sequence there is somewhat more complete than in the tributaries. Discussion between Bond, Jones and myself only served to confirm that the correlation of the two areas is in nearly all essential details the correct one.

Owing to the war the publication of the full report on the upper Zambezi sequence has been long delayed but it is now hoped that it will become available during 1949.

Rhodes-Livingstone Museum

J. DESMOND CLARK,
Curator



ANTHROPOLOGY FROM THE AIR

KAMPONG KUCHAN, AN ORANG LAUT VILLAGE ON SINGAPORE ISLAND : PHOTOGRAPHS TO SHOW THE SUPERIORITY OF THE AIR VIEW

1. On the ground it is impossible to obtain an adequate view of the village as a whole. 2. The vertical air view (in this case at a scale of 1 : 5,000) forms a basis for sketch plans, but gives a relatively unfamiliar prospect. 3. A close-up oblique photograph, taken from about five hundred feet at a fairly steep angle, gives additional data for the sketch plans; note the change in house style on the right where there is a Bugis element. 4. A distant oblique air photograph gives a satisfactory impression of village environment which could not be obtained on the ground.

Photographs : P. D. R. Williams-Hunt



ANTHROPOLOGY FROM THE AIR

(Above) SEMAI (MIXED NEGRITO-SENOI) GARDENS IN CAMERON'S HIGHLANDS, PAHANG, MALAYA : SCALE 1 : 25,000
 (Below) SEMELAI (MIXED SENOI-JAKUN) NEAR TASEK BERA, PAHANG, MALAYA (SEE FIG. 2 IN THE TEXT) : SCALE 1 : 10,000

Photographs: R.A.F. Crown Copyright Reserved

ANTHROPOLOGY FROM THE AIR*

by

P. D. R. WILLIAMS-HUNT

63 Although for some time past archaeologists have appreciated the use of the air approach to the location of early sites with marked success, anthropologists generally have failed to realize the value of this technique as applied to their specialized sphere, often with marked detriment to field work. A little time spent in the study of air photographs or a flight over the area under review may save considerable time and expense on the ground later.

The detailed study of aerial techniques for anthropological purposes would fill a large-sized volume and space here does not permit discussion of any but the more salient features based on the work of H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, and myself in South-East Asia in general and Malaya in particular. In this region poor mapping and the shifting habits of many aboriginal peoples coupled with the lack of funds for research purposes make careful planning essential.

Under the Colonial Survey scheme large areas of British-administered territory are being air-surveyed and, although the production of maps will take a considerable time, air photographs of many areas should now be available to research workers. The writer prefers to fly his own aircraft taking photographs with ex-Royal Air Force equipment, but adequate results for record purposes can be achieved with a camera of the Leica variety.¹ In many parts of the world there are civilian flying clubs (there are, for instance, three now functioning in Malaya) which are prepared to fly passengers at moderate rates. The procurement of the air view is not, therefore, entirely beyond the means of the average research worker.

Air photographs are either vertical or oblique. The former give a plan view and can be utilized for mapping purposes; the latter give a more familiar elevated ground view and are ideal for illustrative uses (Plate F). When possible vertical air photographs should be obtained in stereo so that any two photographs taken consecutively can be merged to give an impression of heights and depths on the same principle as the Victorian travel scenes. Unless this is done a great deal of the value of this type of photograph may be lost and important details missed. It is not a practicable proposition to take stereo oblique photographs but the same technique might well be employed on the ground to record more elaborate architectural details.

Malaya contains a representative cross-section of many typical communities found elsewhere in the equatorial zones and forms a convenient 'tabloid' area for air study.²

Most wandering Negrito communities in the north of the country are pure nomadic hunters undertaking no agriculture and, below the dense canopy of the jungle trees, their camps cannot be located from the air. There is a remote possibility that camps might be placed visually from rising smoke (the general dampness precludes the

occurrence of forest fires), but this has yet to be proved. Air search is thus of little value except, perhaps, to study possible routes in unmapped country and to obtain a few low-level oblique photographs to illustrate environment.

By far the greater part of the Malayan aborigines—some Negritos, the Senoi (Sakai) and some of the Jakun and Proto-Malay groups—are shifting agriculturists, felling and planting a new area of jungle each year. No published map can possibly hope to keep up to date with communities of this nature and the air view is essential before commencing field work. The natural prelude to ground study is to know the approximate location of the group to be seen, the best approach to this group and, if funds or time is limited, the most typical community in the group. This calls for the preparation of a distribution map. In an area in which the geographical features are well



FIG. 1

Part of a sketch map of an unsurveyed area traced off 1 : 25,000-scale air photographs. Dotted areas are old gardens reverting to jungle; striped areas, productive gardens with a number of houses; and circled areas, new felling. The hill contours are only an indication of land form and not any specific heights. Information which will affect movement on the ground has been added.

surveyed the only essential is to plot the communities on the map whilst in flight although it is naturally desirable to take some photographs if conditions permit. In an unsurveyed area the problem is more difficult. The ideal is to prepare initially a general map to show main watercourses, hills and communities off survey-scale photographs (1 : 25,000) (fig. 1) and then to continue as for a surveyed area. If photographs are not available the only solution is to fly on a definite course from a known feature in mapped territory and to record points of interest computing their location by a calculation of speed, course and time. Needless to say, considerable skill in air navigation is required before this can be undertaken successfully. In Malaya, unless this initial planning is employed, one may very well spend several months living with one community in dense jungle without suspecting the presence of another group only a few miles away.

Once a community has been selected for study on the ground it is of some importance to have a fairly detailed

* With Plates F and G and 4 text figures

survey of the area. Ground surveys take a considerable time and often involve the inconvenient movement of heavy equipment. Where extreme accuracy is not called for an adequate survey for most anthropological purposes can be prepared from the air on large-scale vertical photographs and subsequently checked on the ground. With a typical Malayan shifting agricultural community, vertical air photographs of a scale as small as 1 : 10,000, examined stereoscopically, will provide such details as house locations, extent of cultivated gardens, new felling, old clearings reverting to jungle and various natural features (Plate G). If a community contains numerous small units, such as the pigsties in a Chinese squatter area, a larger scale will be required, but it will seldom be necessary to go much above 1 : 5,000 (twelve inches to the mile) to record all essential detail. The detailed interpretation of crops is usually impossible with the haphazard planting of Malayan aborigines since crop recognition from the air depends more on the regularity of planting than on the physical appearance of individual plants. If required, the vertical view can be

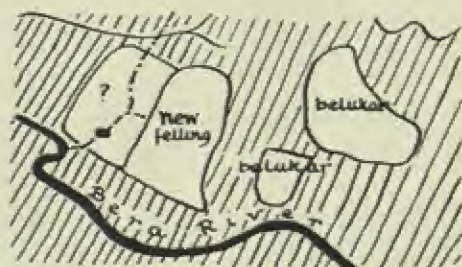


FIG. 2

A rough sketch for ground checking traced off the Semelai area illustrated in Plate G, and showing main field divisions. Patches marked *belukar* are old clearings reverting to jungle. Shaded area is virgin rain forest.

supplemented with low-level visual reconnaissance and photography. From the vertical photographs it should be possible to prepare a sketch map, on the lines shown in fig. 2, which may be either a separate trace or drawn direct onto the photograph. All that is then required on the ground is to fill in the additional details not readily apparent from the air (fig. 3). It need not be pointed out that this technique is an enormous time-saver on the ground; and with practice combined with some ground knowledge more and more can be achieved from the air. However, the air view must never be allowed to replace field work. With communities employing distinctive house types, such as the Menangkabau of Sumatra, or specialized agricultural patterns, whole distribution maps can be prepared from the air.

The location of wandering sea peoples living in boats, often in relatively inaccessible swamps, is always a problem to the anthropologist working on the ground, but presents no difficulty from the air. A series of flights spaced over a period might establish the seasonal wanderings of such a group, but would probably call for the distinctive marking of individual boats. Undoubtedly the ideal would be to employ a light seaplane which could land on the water

after locating the group, just as a helicopter would be excellent for land peoples. Unfortunately such aircraft are relatively rare, and it is unlikely that any but the most elaborately mounted expedition equipped on a State basis could afford such novelties. It is, however, a feasible proposition to bear in mind should the opportunity arise.

With more settled communities air photography can be used in a variety of ways. Air reconnaissance for initial location purposes is seldom necessary since these communities are normally well known to the administrative authorities on the ground, even if they do not appear on the current maps. However, the numerous islands in some archipelagos often escape the attentions of both administration and map-revisers and repay air study. Even in well administered territory points of interest to the anthropologist may not be appreciated by others. Recently flying over southern Malaya I located a (for Malaya) unique pile village constructed in an inland swamp. Although marked on the standard map series its true character was unknown to anthropologists and it will form an interesting unit for



FIG. 3

The same sketch map as in Fig. 2 with additional information obtained on the ground. These data supported by ground photographs and house plans will form the basis for the final map.

study when conditions permit. Air photography for settled communities can be considered under two headings: map-making from vertical photographs and illustrative oblique photography for pictorial purposes. The production of a village plan on the ground is a tedious operation which is doubly complicated if the area of study embraces a pile village built out over the water. Village plans for anthropological reports seldom call for detailed measurements of each house, which can only be undertaken on the ground. In air planning the initial requirement is a good quality 'stereo-pair' of vertical photographs taken when the sun is high in the sky to avoid loss of detail in shadows. The scale of these photographs depends on the size of the units in the village, but about 1 : 4,000 is normally adequate. One print should then be enlarged to maximum size, without undue loss of definition, and printed on a matt paper. From there on it is a simple matter to draw in the detail on the enlargement after stereoscopic examination of the contact prints. Ground photographs and ground checking must be used to clear up points not certain from the air view, and it is of material assistance to take four or five oblique photographs (at a fairly steep angle to avoid one house hiding another) along the main cardinal points.

There is one serious drawback to this technique: one is, naturally, looking at the roof and if there is a considerable overhang or there are large trees in the village detail may be obscured or the houses shown somewhat larger than in actual fact. This can only be rectified on the ground and, of course, precludes any calculations of the amount of floor space per village inhabitant or like statistics. The same application can be expanded to take in details of field systems or, where coastal communities are concerned, the locations of fish traps—features which are often difficult to plot accurately on the ground. With more settled communities of this nature, distinctive planting methods are usually employed and different crops can be recognized from the air. Fig. 4 shows a portion of an Orang Laut village on Singapore Island and was prepared in this way from an enlargement of the vertical photograph illustrated in Plate F.

On the ground it is almost always impossible to obtain a single comprehensive view of a small town or village as a whole. From the air, at a moderate height, it is always practicable to obtain an excellent distant oblique view to show general environment and close-ups to show particular details of interest. This latter application is of special value when two distinctive house types are found side by side in the same village (Plate F).

This short note cannot pretend to give more than a very generalized sketch of the possibilities of the air approach for anthropological purposes. It will be appreciated, however, that the air approach can be relatively inexpensive (contrary to popular opinion) and that, in

certain cases, its employment is essential. Anthropologists who are interested must develop the technique along their own specialized lines, always remembering that the air view must never entirely replace field work on the ground.

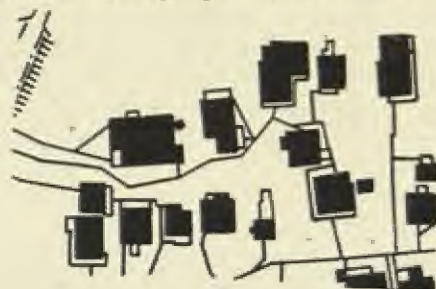


FIG. 4

Part of a sketch plan of Kampong Kuchan, Singapore, prepared from enlargements of the air photographs shown in Plate F.

Notes

¹ Technical details of equipment have been omitted on purpose partly because a great deal of work can be undertaken without any specialized material, and partly because there have been many references in recent archaeological papers. The most recent work of value is: J. S. P. Bradford, 'Humanity from the Air,' *The Archaeological News Letter*, No. 4, 1948. Bradford, although writing primarily as an archaeologist, describes techniques which can equally well be applied to anthropology.

² A detailed study, as far as the Malayan aborigines are concerned, has been published by me in 'A Technique for Anthropology from the Air in Malaya,' *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, Singapore, Series B, 1949. Papers by H. D. Collings in the same *Bulletin* are also illustrated by air photographs.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUVADE AMONG THE BLACK CARIBS

by

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64 The institution of the couvade, which so excited the curiosity and stirred the imagination of early European travellers, was originally encountered among the inhabitants of the Antilles, the first American Indians to come in contact with the Western world. The writers, however, emphasized the strangeness of the facts described, either by misinterpreting them, or by trying to create an added interest. Social and political philosophers of the period drew on the couvade to illustrate almost any principle or postulate which it was wished to prove, or simply presented it as a laughable instance of human frailty.¹ When scientific anthropology came into being, various attempts were made to fit it into diverse pigeonholes. Thus when Lévy-Brühl proposed that the primitive mind has its peculiar mechanisms, essentially unlike those of the modern civilized mind, the couvade seemed to constitute an almost self-evident illustration. In the main, however,

familiarity with the form of the couvade had dulled the feeling of quaintness and the curiosity attached to it. It was then, and it is even more so today, considered old-fashioned, a preoccupation of armchair anthropologists, to study it.

Research, by such men as Roth² and others in South America—which showed unsuspected aspects of it, of importance for anthropological theory no less than for a better understanding of New World cultures—went largely unheeded. Yet an examination of old material and of the new data to be presented in this paper indicates that the couvade is but a part of a unified world-view as it regards the interaction of the spiritual realm and the everyday life of man, and of the relations between husband and wife, between father, mother and child. This new material was gathered among the Black Caribs of the Republic of Honduras.³

These people originated in St. Vincent, British West Indies, where runaway slaves from wrecked ships and plantations mixed with some of the aboriginal Indians, absorbing much of their culture and forming an ethnological group *sui generis*. A warrior-like, freedom-loving people, they were always proficient in the arts of war, and took part in many of the conflicts that occurred in the Antilles, where there never was a dearth of opportunities for fighting. After many diverse events, they revolted against the British rule, and were finally defeated in 1797, being deported *en masse* to the island of Roatan, in the Bay of Honduras. They soon came to the mainland of the isthmus, and spread over a vast extension of the Caribbean coast, where they still live today. At present, their number is to be estimated at approximately 50,000, not counting those who contrived to remain in St. Vincent, or escaped to other islands of the West Indies.⁴

The couvade is a fully functioning institution. After a child has been born, the father must stay at home, or, if not, never engage in strenuous muscular effort, until the navel cord of the newly born infant dries and falls off. Breaking this rule entails dire consequences. Stories, which follow a regular pattern, are told about it. Thus it is recounted how a local '*esprit fort*,' a former seaman who treats much of the traditional lore of his people as old wives' tales, on becoming a father for the first time, challenged the law of the couvade. The day after his wife's delivery, he took his axe and went into the forest for the purpose of felling a tree to make a dugout canoe. Finding a mahogany tree of convenient size, he started to work on it with his axe. His wife and her female relatives, at home, observed that the newborn baby contracted rhythmically, keeping time, they surmised, with the father's axe strokes. They hurriedly sent a boy to run to him, and bring him home. When he reached his house the child's navel was bleeding profusely, and he was only able to save its life by wrapping its body in his sweat-soaked shirt. Now, they say, he has learned to respect 'the customs which come from our ancestors.'

An alternative account was given by a woman who is a faithful follower of one of the *blúes* (medicinemendiviners), and an outstanding devotee of the native cult. According to her, it is not the father's muscular exertions which endanger the life of the child, but his profuse perspiring, which is the actual cause of the baby's navel bleeding. For the same reason a menstruating woman should never approach a child less than one or two weeks of age.

The explanation of the couvade among the Black Caribs requires some familiarity with their general worldview. The universe is conceived as a vast battlefield, where numerous forces contend. No clear-cut distinction between evil and good forces is made. Even the dark spirits of the jungle, identified with Christian devils, may work for good, and, conversely, the saints of the Catholic Church are supposed sometimes to abet the sinister machinations of the sorcerers. A wise man is able, with the aid of a *blúe*, to influence supernatural beings to his own advantage. Among those, one's natural protectors are the deified family dead, called the *gubida*. Every phase of life is marked

by some ritual observance associated with the *gubida* cult. Death and birth, naturally, call for special rituals, and of those the ones connected with birth are known in the literature as the couvade.

The plurality of souls is a major tenet of Black Carib philosophy. Some native theologians hold that every man has three, while others believe in the existence of two souls. The first group name the souls of man as the *anigi*, a vital force or spirit whose seat is the heart, and becomes extinct with death; the *iudni*, located in the head, which goes to heaven after death; and the *dfurugu*, the astral body, which wanders away at night in dreams, and remains on earth after death, under the guise of *úfie* (ghost), or protective spirit. A second group, which comprises the majority of the Black Carib population, holds *iudni* and *anigi* to be synonyms. Those of the second group who have more thoroughly assimilated the Catholic teachings also hold *iudni* or *anigi* to be identical with the *alma*, or soul, while *dfurugu* is a person's guardian angel.

When a child is conceived, the mother is supposed to form its body. At the moment of birth the infant has its *iudni* or *anigi*, or perhaps both, but never its *dfurugu*, which, in consonance with its nature as protector, is related to the *gubida* on the father's side, and will come only after the navel cord falls. This is another way in which the principle that the child depends on the spiritual substance of its father, having none of its own during that critical period, is supposed to operate. In order that the *dfurugu* shall come, and will remain with the child, the midwife or the female relatives wrap the infant in red cloth, and sometimes paint its face with the red dye of the *Bixa orellana*. Both the child and the father are believed to be in a delicate, even dangerous, condition. The mother, however, having bathed and put on fresh clothes, is considered to be purified and cleansed, and is able to resume her normal course of life. As long as the couvade lasts the father is believed to have a special kind of evil eye, called *uburagúdinā*. If he looks at any baby, even his own, for any length of time, it will be the victim of a peculiar affliction: its little body becomes rigid, tense, and it is unable to perform the excretory functions. In this case, as when the father performs physical exercise, the cure consists in enveloping the infant's body in a piece of clothing that has been worn by the man.

From the above material it is apparent that the interpretation of the couvade most often encountered in the literature, which holds that the man assumes the female role after childbirth, is erroneous. Among the Black Caribs, position and functions of men and women are precisely delimited. Dominance of one sex over the other, as it exists in many cultures, is not present. In the economic sphere, man and woman both provide for the needs of the family. The husband is expected to furnish fish, and meat, whereas the wife, being the sole agriculturalist, supplies the home with the produce of her gardens. The same is true of all other spheres of activity.

To see this conception of independent harmonious co-operation between the two sexes made to fit even the biological fact of birth necessitates a certain reorientation on the part of those who, as in European culture, are

conditioned to the concept of an assumed inherent debility of women, specially in connexion with childbirth. This is not ordinarily considered to be a cultural interpretation, but as the statement of a universal truth. Yet in these data, and in the information concerning the couvade in a number of related cultures of South America, the coming of a new child is a trying situation for both parents. Paternity may even be viewed as a heavier burden than maternity. And this is a fresh proof, if any more is needed, that biological facts in themselves, apart from the culture through which they are seen, cannot give us the key to understanding human phenomena.

Another point which—difficult as it may be to understand how it could have escaped notice for so long a time—has been overlooked is the function of the couvade as a *rite de passage*. It was only in 1909 that Roth stated: 'An analysis of the pre-natal and post-natal ordeals undergone by father and mother bring into prominence the fact that they bear a remarkably strong resemblance to those submitted to at puberty (by both sexes) and at menstruation.'⁵ In the case of the Black Caribs, at first glance this identity does not come out so clearly as among the Guiana and Amazonian tribes. The Black Caribs have no puberty rites, most probably because the idea of self-inflicted pain as a sacrifice agreeable to the deities is completely foreign to the spirit of the African cultures, which strongly influenced their traditions. For the same reason scarification, whippings, and other forms of drawing blood from the father's body described by early and modern observers as in use among Antillean and South American Indians were also eliminated from the couvade in the course of acculturative processes.

Whatever the historical explanation for these variants, it stands out clearly that one of the functions of the couvade

is to provide a buffer which absorbs the shock and emotional agitation inherent in a delicate transitional situation. From the moment of his birth, the Black Carib finds himself in a culturally well defined position, and in the course of his life moves to a successive series of well defined sets of rights and obligations. Even as an old man and head of a household, to whom all the living members of the family owe obedience, he must obey the commands of the *gubida*, among which is his own dead father.

Notes

¹ Dutertre, 1667-1670; Labat, 1722.

² Roth, 1915, 1924.

³ Field work in Honduras was conducted during 1947-1948 under a joint grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Graduate School of Northwestern University, sponsored by the Department of Anthropology of Northwestern University.

⁴ Conzemius, 1928, 1930; Edwards, 1809-1817.

⁵ Roth, 1924, p. 695.

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ON A FORM OF CICATRIZATION AMONG THE BAMBARA*

by

SOLANGE DE GANAY

65 The scarifications, of many different forms and meanings, with which the Bambara of the French Sudan decorate their faces and bodies are, in the main, intended to confer upon the bearer the qualities of which they are symbols; they affect the individual's character and temperament and help him to fulfil his ideal of manhood; and they are thought of as a powerful spell incised for permanency in the flesh.

The marks (*ti*) which I shall describe are associated with one of their myths of the origin of agriculture and are worn particularly by members of the agricultural societies (*chi wara tō*¹) which are called upon when there is work to be

done in the fields. They also appear on the masks worn at this season. They consist of eight small cicatrices, two vertical ones at the root of the nose and three under each eye. The native name for them is *chi wara ti*,² and they are made in imitation of the facial marks of a fabulous being, half man, half animal, who in the legendary past taught men how to cultivate the earth. This being, whose name is Chi Wara, was the offspring of a hooded snake and inherited its shape of head, though with human ears. The mother of Chi Wara was the first of earth's creatures and had issued from a piece of wood (a material form of the Creator) of which she then became the wife; from her are descended all living things, human, vegetable or animal.³ Upon the suggestion of the Creator, this woman decided to cultivate the wild grasses and thus improve them. She

* With a text figure. This article is based on data collected by the author in the course of the sixth Griaule expedition (September, 1946, to February, 1947). Translated by William Fagg

had connexion with the snake when she realized that she could improve her methods with its help.

From birth onwards Chi Wara, in ignorance of the woman who had given him birth, began to cultivate the soil, making use of the animal claws on his own feet as well as of a small pointed instrument which had belonged to his mother and which he held in his hand. With his head and neck, dilated in the form of a hoe, he tilled the soil, fertilizing it at the same time with his venom as his father had before him. Through his work the grasses were changed into edible grains and multiplied. But whereas his mother had worked entirely on her own account, he taught the technique to men and gave them a liking for agriculture and the courage to persevere with it successfully. In time, however, the corn (*n̄ō*, cereal) which rewarded their labours grew abundant and men lost their respect for it and for the sustenance it gave; they dared to throw dishes of cornmeal at each other's heads when they were angry, and to use corncocks as a wipe-breech. Outraged at this sacrilege, Chi Wara dug a hole in the ground and buried himself in it. Men, finding that they had lost him for ever, carved a mask in his image to perpetuate his memory.

Each of the *chi wara tō*, or agricultural societies, possesses two or three masks. At their consecration, a libation is poured over them, while the following words are addressed to the mythical being, the husbandman *par excellence*, who is represented in them:

O! Chi Wara masks, we do not wish to be shamed.⁴
Come, you revealer [of agriculture].
Here is your share, cultivator.⁵

These masks, which have an effect on the life force of their wearers, are used on the day on which the society members of two neighbouring villages hold a hoeing contest. They are carried by the young men who have worked with the greatest enthusiasm and speed, and these youths are supposed, at the moment of putting on the masks, to incarnate the tireless husbandman of the legend.

It was thought, moreover, that the acquisition of a physical likeness to Chi Wara himself, by imitating the marks on his face, ought to impart to human beings his zeal for work; and so they have themselves tattooed in his name. They further thought that the more they multiplied these marks, the more plentiful their harvest would be. However, women never bear them, as that would give the impression that they thought themselves their husbands' equals in the work of husbandry.

The same scarifications appear also on a representation of a face which simultaneously symbolizes Chi Wara and one of the eight primordial ancestors. This latter, named Kuma Bana or Kuma Tigi ('the master of the word'), was the first man to discover how to interpret sounds and gestures at a time when men did not yet possess articulate speech; the Bambara owe to him their original form of cicatrization, which they speak of as their 'first word.' This head forms part of a group which is either painted in cornmeal paste, red ochre or kola-nut juice, or moulded in clay every year on some of their sanctuaries and granaries.⁶

A drawing of one of these scenes, made by my informant, is reproduced in fig. 1. It represents an episode in the

story of agriculture as told by the Bambara and Marka, recalling how the snake father of Chi Wara was one of the first promoters of husbandry. It illustrates the presentation to Faro, master of the waters and of the created world and all life upon it, of the grass *nara horō* (which is to yield the ear of corn). In panel (a) the wild duck, *bumikoro*, is about to carry to the swallow, *nanale* (Faro's messenger on earth), three ears of *nara horō* previously given to it by the snake; they are watched by the head representing at the same time Chi Wara and the ancestor Kuma Bana, as is shown by the eight *chi wara ti* marks and, on the forehead, the seven *suruku ti* marks invented by Kuma Bana. In panel (b), after receiving the three ears and giving them to the snake, the swallow picks three more so that they may both carry them to Faro, who watches their progress from deep in the waters (seen in panel (c)); to protect them on their way, he causes his axe, the symbol of his power, to accompany them floating on the surface of the water in front of the snake.

For the Bambara, this kind of pictorial representation of a myth or ancient observance is a way of maintaining the integrity of the beings or objects pictured and causing them to carry on their part in the scheme of things. Thus reproduction of the tattooed face of Chi Wara ensures the persistence in time of his activity, and the continued efficacy of the cicatrizations by means of which man acquired the qualities of a good husbandman. Moreover, these designs, drawn on the granaries or sanctuaries in which the

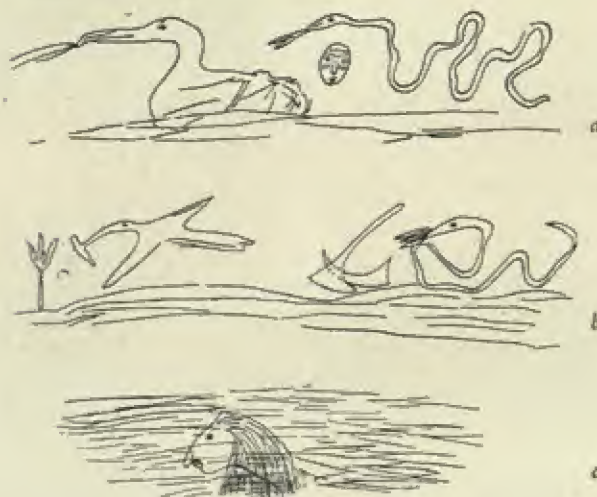


FIG. 1. DRAWING MADE BY THE AUTHOR'S BAMBARA INFORMANT

See explanation in the text

harvest is kept, conserve the soul and life force (*ni* and *nyama*) of the grain, these being the two principles to which its perpetuation is due; if these same designs were to be seen disfigured by the rains, the corn stored in the granary would lose all substance. According to the Bambara view, when the image of a thing, which they equate with the thing itself, is reflected in the beholder's eye, it penetrates inside him by way of his pupil; so he absorbs the

form of the granary and, since the design which should preserve the vital energy of the grain is no longer able to counteract its dispersal, he simultaneously absorbs all its *nyama* and *ni*. A granary on which the paintings were not renewed every year would be compared to a man deprived at once of his clothing and of all means of sustaining life.

Notes

¹ These societies (*iw*) are composed of volunteer members. The word *wara*, which my informant translated by the French word *griffu* ('clawed animal'), connotes animals of the feline group, and is

also used of a strong and brave man. *Chi* means agriculture or husbandry.

² 'Scarifications of the wild beast [*sc.* strong one] of agriculture.'

³ See my article 'Aspects de Mythologie et de Symbolique bambara,' *Journal de Psychologie normale et pathologique*, Paris, 1949.

⁴ That is, 'We do not wish to be worsted by the others.'

⁵ This invocation was collected by Professor Griaule. It appears that various types of mask may be dedicated to the name of *Chi Wara*; those that we saw represented antelopes. [For examples see Kjerfveier, *Centres de Style de la Sculpture nègre africaine*, Vol. 1, Plates 6-17, or *African Negro Sculptures*, 1947, Plate 1.—Ed.]

⁶ Innumerable paintings, sculptures and simple lines of a symbolic character are also made on ritual or other objects or in sacred places.

OBITUARY

Herbert Deane Noone, 1907-1943

66 'Pat' Noone was born on 4 November, 1907. After taking his degree at Cambridge, he was appointed in 1930 Field Ethnographer to the Federated Malay States Museums and in 1934 represented the Malayan Government at the first meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, London.

In December, 1941, the Japanese war found Lt. Noone with a platoon of Argylls cut off in Upper Perak. Twenty-two of the men he and his Dayak trackers helped to escape down-river on rafts, but four being too sick to move, 'Pat' stayed with them. Three of the men died and Noone too contracted malaria. Malaria with no supplies of quinine, trouble with Chinese guerillas and continual trekking to escape capture were constant hardships for the remaining two years of his life. On one occasion a Batak missionary, apparently a collaborator, provided some quinine with the advice to surrender or commit suicide! The Telom valley in Pahang, and Pulau and Sungai Siput in Perak, were among Noone's haunts. At Sungai Siput, he and two other Europeans (who survived) did what they could to train recruits for resistance and organize propaganda. In April, 1943, a Japanese officer aided by Noone's former Malay boatman and two Chinese collaborators tried to track him down. All were ambushed and killed. In October, 1943, Pat marched down to Sungai Siput to get funds and medicine for his companions. Soon afterwards he set out for Pulau. The last man known to have seen him alive was a Sakai. His subsequent fate is unknown. After his death, he was mentioned in despatches for gallant and distinguished service.

The Malayan jungle which he loved so well served him ill. Before the war he lost all his notes and ethnological records in a flooded river, and during it his Sakai dictionary was destroyed. For the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Noone wrote in 1939 an interesting note on the Penarikan and Bernam land routes across the peninsula and in 1941 he wrote a paper on a valuable find of pottery sherds on a Selangor beach and an article on a proposed classification of Malayan polished stone implements. In 1939, too, in the *Journal of the F.M.S.*

Museums he published notes on the Benua Jakun language, a paper on some vital statistics of the Lowland Senoi of Perak and a preliminary report on a neolithic site discovered by him on a tributary of the Nenggiri River in Kelantan, a site which should provide stratified evidence including a large series of human remains. But perhaps his most important publication was a report in 1936 on the settlements and welfare of the Ple-Temiar Senoi on the Perak-Kelantan watershed. 'Relatively vast areas of the Peninsula are still undeveloped jungle,' he wrote, 'so that today timber, wild life and primitive people coincide in a single area. It seems not unreasonable that the interests of the inhabitants should have their protectors as well as the timber and big game.' His report achieved one of Noone's ambitions. For in 1939 the Malayan Government passed an Aboriginal Tribes Bill, establishing reservations for the jungle folk.

Pat Noone was taken away from science just when his studies were bearing fruit and the simple folk he loved and served were deprived of a friend whose sympathy had been reinforced by knowledge which it takes years to acquire.

R. O. WINSTEDT

67 University graduates are as ships that pass in the night; they are delightful to have to deal with, but when they leave the university it is often 'good-bye.' There are some, however, who for various reasons stick in one's memory and who actually from time to time keep in touch and send us letters. Such a student was Pat Noone. As an undergraduate he was keen and alive, and interested in many activities besides the work of the department. I can recall him now country-dancing in Neville's Court, Trinity College, at some big 'do.' But his archaeological and anthropological interests came first, as witness his excellent degree. Pat Noone's death means a great loss to anthropological study. He had a balanced outlook as well as a charming personality—two qualities essential for any effectual field work to be accomplished. It is splendid to know that he had already achieved a reputation for his work in Malaya both during the war and before it.

MILES C. BURKITT

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Traditional Art of the British Colonies: A Forthcoming Exhibition at the Institute

68 The Council of the Institute has decided to organize an exhibition of primitive art, at the Institute's premises in Bedford Square, opening on 21 June, 1949, and continuing until 20 July. The exhibition has been planned as a contribution to the

Colonial Month, which is intended to inform public opinion on colonial affairs, and in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies has invited the Institute to participate. The opportunity has been welcomed of organizing a small and very select display as an experiment in preparation for a more ambitious international exhibition, of Burlington House standard, devoted to African art,

and also to sustain and develop the public interest in primitive art aroused by some recent exhibitions.

The exhibition will be held in the Institute's lecture room, which will be specially adapted for the purpose, and will comprise some fifty to sixty pieces of representational art of the highest quality, selected for their artistic merit from the finest private collections in the country, including those of Mrs. Beasley, Capt. Fuller, Mr. Oldman, Mr. and Mrs. Webster Plass, Mrs. Seligman and Mr. Leon Underwood. A magnificent assemblage of bronzes and ivories from Benin is already assured. A notable feature will be a series of ancient terra cotta heads discovered near Ife, Nigeria, only in March by the Government Anthropologist, Mr. Bernard Fagg, and surpassing in size and apparent quality the famous heads

found by Frobenius in 1910; they are to be flown to London, by courtesy of the Oni of Ife and the Nigerian Government, in time for the exhibition.

The exhibition will demonstrate, it is hoped, that an ethnographical arrangement, with informative labelling, is not inconsistent with artistic presentation. A well illustrated catalogue is being prepared, of which copies will be available for outside sale. There will be a charge of 6d. for admission.

There will also be a display of recent anthropological books on the British colonies.

The show is being organized mainly by voluntary effort, but the Institute has been greatly assisted in its preparations by the offer of a substantial guarantee from the Arts Council of Great Britain.

SHORTER NOTES

International Conference on Rural Architecture: Postponement of Budapest Meeting. Cf. MAN, 1949, 15

69 The Royal Anthropological Institute has received a communication dated 5 April, 1949, from M. E. Foundoukidis, Secretary-General, Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires, stating that owing to all kinds of difficulties encountered by the Hungarian authorities in the organization of the Conference which was to have been held in Budapest from 10 to 18 May, 1949, Dr. Virgil Borbiri, Under-Secretary of State for Reconstruction, had just addressed to the Commission a proposal that the Conference be postponed. Further news is awaited as to subsequent arrangements.

A New Institute of Archaeology in Gujarat

70 The university town of Vallabh Vidyannagar in Gujarat, recently founded at the birthplace of the Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, includes an Institute of Archaeology, of which Mr. Amrit V. Pandya has been appointed Director. The objects of the Institute are to train students in prehistoric and historic Indian archaeology and to conduct archaeological exploration and excavation. A journal will be produced in English in which results will be published.

The west coast of India is now being explored for prehistoric remains, and a preliminary survey of the lower Narbada valley has brought to light some palaeolithic cultures from the Pleistocene. An excavation is planned at Naheshwar, a prehistoric city site found on the Narbada in 1947 by Mr. Pandya.

A syllabus for a diploma course in archaeology is being prepared and Mr. Pandya would be grateful for copies of syllabi for similar courses in this country, for lists of suggested reading and for any other assistance in this task.

The Inyanga Research Fund. Communicated by Mr. Neville Jones

71 The Inyanga district of Southern Rhodesia is little known even to Rhodesians, and most of our knowledge of it derives from the visit in 1905 of Prof. D. R. Maciver, who gave an account of it in his *Medieval Rhodesia*. A series of air photographs recently taken by Mr. R. A. Bourlay has emphasized the great archaeological importance of the region; and there is abundant evidence, in the form of ruins, terracing, irrigation furrows and ancient settlement sites, that it once supported a large population. The area is now being opened up for European settlement and divided into small farms, and its possibilities as a recreational centre are being considered.

The investigation of the Inyanga district is therefore a matter of immediate importance. The Natural and Historical Monuments

and Relics Commission of Southern Rhodesia, with the support of the Trustees of the National Museum, has therefore resolved to undertake this task and has formed a committee to raise the necessary funds. Mr. Neville Jones is secretary. If its appeal is successful the committee intends to equip an expedition with a leader of international standing and a staff of specialists, and estimates that £10,000 will be required before the work can be begun. The committee does not at present appeal for contributions in cash, but intending donors are asked to inform the committee of the amount they will be prepared to contribute. Promises of support, and requests for further information, should be sent to the Secretary of the Inyanga Research Fund, P.O. Box 240, Bulawayo, S.R.

International Geological Congress, 1948. Extracts from a summary communicated by Dr. K. P. Oakley, Secretary of the Geological Society of London

72 The Eighteenth Session of the International Geological Congress, originally planned to take place in 1940, was held in England during August and September, 1948, the proceedings lasting altogether for seven weeks. The formal and scientific meetings of the session, under the Presidency of Professor H. H. Read, F.R.S., were held in South Kensington and lasted from 25 August to 1 September. The total membership was 1760, and 76 countries were represented.

The scientific meetings were grouped in twelve sections. Section H was devoted to discussion of the problem of defining the Pliocene-Pleistocene boundary, and in Section M (Miscellaneous subjects) there were several papers on Quaternary geology. These, and other aspects of the Congress possibly interesting to anthropologists, are summarized below.

Section H. The Pliocene-Pleistocene Boundary

W. B. R. King (Great Britain), who acted as chairman of this symposium, favoured Italy as type area, and suggested that the question to decide was whether the lower boundary of the Pleistocene should be drawn at the base of the Calabrian-Villafanchian, or at the top.

F. E. Zeuner (Great Britain), pointed out the difficulties inherent in the use of glaciation or the appearance of certain mammalian genera for delimiting the Pleistocene, since these criteria were inapplicable in non-glaciated or unfossiliferous regions. He favoured physiographic criteria, and suggested that the drop in sea level from around the 100-metre mark during the Sicilian stage would afford one possible boundary for the base of the Pleistocene, since it initiated a new erosional cycle widely recognizable on the continents.

C. I. Migliorini (Italy) claimed that in Italy the base of the Pleistocene was best drawn between the Astian and the Calabrian, since faunal change at this horizon is well marked. R. Selli (Italy) made out a strong case for regarding the Calabrian (*sensu stricto*), which he regarded as equivalent to Günz, as the basal stage of the Pleistocene.

C. Arambourg (France), in a written communication, and L. S. B. Leakey (Kenya) discussed the Pleistocene stratigraphy and palaeontology of Africa, especially the application of the terminology advocated at the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory (Nairobi, 1947). Leakey pointed out that in East Africa deposits of the Kageran stage (whose fauna is equivalent to the Villafranchian) contained pebble-tool industries, representing the earliest known human cultures. It was logical and convenient, he said, to regard this stage as forming the base of the Pleistocene. For faunal and geological reasons it is desirable to divide the Kamasian into lower and upper stages. According to Arambourg the classification of the Pleistocene advocated at Nairobi (MAN, 1947, 170; *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. LI, p. 258) is proving applicable to the North African as well as the East African faunal succession. He said that the Neanderthaloid jaw found at Rabat, Morocco, was associated with an Upper Kamasian fauna.

G. H. R. von Koenigswald (Netherlands) outlined recent discoveries of fossil man in Java. He said that remains of three types of man had been recovered from deposits now classified by most workers as Lower Pleistocene (Djetis beds): *Pithecanthropus robustus* Weidenreich (probably synonym of *P. modjokertensis* (v. Koenigswald)); *P. dubius* v. Koenigswald; and *Meganthropus palaeojavanicus* v. Koenigswald. He claimed that the Trinil beds, which yielded the genotype of *Pithecanthropus*, were later and should be classed as Middle Pleistocene, and equated the Trinil beds with the Choukoutien stage of China.

On the basis mainly of foraminiferal evidence, I. M. van der Vlerk (Netherlands) claimed that in the East Anglian succession the base of the Butleyan was the natural place to draw the Pliocene-Pleistocene boundary.

While the discussions of Section H were taking place, the Council of the Eighteenth Session appointed a Temporary Commission to advise on the definition of the Pliocene-Pleistocene boundary. The Commission was able to forward a unanimous opinion in the following terms:

(i) The Commission considers that it is necessary to select a type area where the Pliocene-Pleistocene (Tertiary-Quaternary) boundary can be drawn in accordance with stratigraphical principles.

(ii) The Commission considers that the Pliocene-Pleistocene boundary should be based on changes in marine faunas, since this is the classic method of grouping fossiliferous strata. The classic area of marine sedimentation in Italy is regarded as the area where this principle can be implemented best. It is here too that terrestrial [continental] equivalents of the marine faunas under consideration can be determined.

(iii) The Commission recommends that, in order to eliminate existing ambiguities, the Lower Pleistocene should include as its basal member in the type area the Calabrian formation (marine) together with its terrestrial [continental] equivalent the Villafranchian.

(iv) The Commission notes that according to evidence given this usage would place the boundary at the horizon of the first indications of climatic deterioration in the Italian Neogene succession.

The Commission's recommendations were unanimously accepted by the Council at its meeting on 1 September, 1948. From the papers read in Section H it is clear that this definition has wide application. On the basis of marine faunas it was claimed that the Amstelian of the Netherlands and the Butleyan (Newer Red

Crag) of East Anglia are probable equivalents of the Calabrian. Some authors, however, maintain that the whole of the Red Crag should be equated with the Calabrian. The Villafranchian or continental facies is characterized by a fauna which includes *Elephas*, *Equus* and advanced bovines. This fauna is widespread and has been used for correlating deposits of the same age in different continents. Thus the probable equivalents of the Villafranchian are as follows: in the Netherlands the Preteglia beds; in Central Africa the Kageran beds (with Pre-Abbevillian pebble tools and presumably *Homo kanamensis*); in India the Pinjor stage of the Upper Siwaliks; in China the Nihowan stage; in Java the Djetis beds, and in the Central Plains of North America the Blanco beds.

For purposes of correlation the Villafranchian should be regarded as a time-division represented by actual strata in the type region of Italy. In regions where they originated, *Elephas*, *Equus* and advanced bovines may be expected as rarities in beds falling below the base of this time-division, but elsewhere they serve as reliable indicators of the beginning of the Pleistocene.

Section M. Miscellaneous Subjects

R. B. McConnell (Tanganyika) read a paper on rift and shield structure in East Africa. He considers that the rift valleys are along belts of crushing between Pre-Cambrian shields; that the crushed (compressed) zones have been forced down by ramp faults; and that the movements were initiated in late Pre-Cambrian times and more recently rejuvenated. R. M. Shackleton (Great Britain) reviewed recent work in the rift valleys of Kenya. The Lower Miocene sediments of Rusinga Island, yielding remains of *Proconsul* and other anthropoids, have been shown to rest on the so-called Miocene peneplain. The Kavirondo Gulf Rift was formed by down-faulting which displaced the Miocene sediments and overlying volcanics. In the central and southern parts of the Great or Gregory Rift Valley, the relation of deposits containing Acheulian artifacts to the Rift Valley faulting has been investigated. The movements took place intermittently during the Tertiary and Lower Pleistocene, but by the time the Middle Pleistocene beds with Acheulian artifacts were deposited probably the greater part of the movement had been completed.

Association of African Geological Surveys

The Association of African Geological Surveys, a Sub-Commission of the International Geological Congress, held a series of open meetings in London during the Congress. F. Blondel (France) is at present Secretary.

The Commission considered, and in general approved, the division of the Pleistocene in Africa (excluding the North African littoral) proposed by the Pan-African Congress of Prehistory (1947). G. Choubert (Morocco) suggested the following possible parallelism:

Gamblian	.	.	.	Flandrian and Grimaldian.
Kamasian	.	.	.	Tyrrenian, Milazzian, Sicilian.
Kageran	.	.	.	Villafranchian [Calabrian].

L. S. B. Leakey suggested that it was desirable to divide the Kamasian into Lower and Upper Kamasian, or Kamasian *sensu stricto* and Kanjeran.

Other subjects considered at some length included the African Rift Valleys and the Kalahari System. According to evidence recently obtained in Southern Rhodesia (G. Bond), Northern Rhodesia (J. D. Clark) and Angola (J. Janmart), and in Bechuanaland (E. J. Wayland), a large part of the Kalahari Sands appears to be post-Acheulian, or post-Sangoan.

Excursions

At Swanscombe, members saw recent excavations in the 100-foot Terrace (Boyn Hill). On the evidence presented most of the visitors favoured the view that the Middle Gravels (which yielded the Swanscombe skull associated with Acheulian hand-axes) belong to the closing stage of the Great Interglacial. Members were interested to hear that the fluorine test had recently been applied to the Galley Hill skeleton, and had shown that it is a burial, considerably later than the gravel in which it was found. At Baker's Hole (Ebbsfleet) a series of loess-like loams, overlying

the Main Coombe Rock, and containing Levalloisian 'floors,' were examined and the evidence for these being post-Rissian or inter-Würmian was discussed.

On the East Anglian excursion, led by C. D. Ovey and D. Baden-Powell, assisted by J. E. Sainty, H. E. P. Spencer and J. A. Steers, members were taken to see the classic sites around Ipswich, Cromer and Norwich. There appears to be as yet no end to the controversy regarding the workmanship of the chipped flints in the Sub-Crag Stone Bed, some geologists still inclining to the view that most if not all of the flaking is natural.

REVIEWS

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Cultural Background of Personality. By Ralph Linton. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1947. Price 10s. 6d.

73 Linton's *The Study of Man*, published in 1940, is now extensively used in British universities as a textbook on social anthropology. The results of his collaboration with Kardiner and Cora du Bois on the formation of basic or modal personalities in different cultural settings certainly formed one of the most stimulating and provocative books that appeared in the field of anthropology during the war years (see Kardiner and Linton, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 1942). The present work is the text of a series of five lectures delivered at Swarthmore College in 1943, published in the U.S.A. in 1945, and now appearing in an English edition. The lectures contain little new material, but they show the development and consolidation of Linton's view of the nature of culture as outlined in his 1940 book. The material is here presented in a most balanced and persuasive way and the illustrative data are very skilfully handled. The book also repeats the main thesis of the Kardiner and Linton volume as to the differential effects of cultures on personality, but the present exposition is phrased in sociological rather than in psycho-analytical terms, and it gives due importance to structural and economic factors in the establishment of the basic personality. It should be of value to teachers and others working on the fringes of the social sciences.

Linton makes a clear distinction between the two abstractions 'culture' and 'society,' and here he is in line with the main stream of current American anthropological theory. He suggests in fact that there are three separate aggregates; the study of society, to be undertaken by the sociologist; the study of culture, which is the task of the anthropologist; and the study of personality, which is the province of the psycho-analyst. The concept 'culture' is used in this connexion to cover all the traditional behaviour patterns which the individual acquires as a result of his education. 'Culture' is what men do and 'society' is the organized group of men who do it. Starting from this premise Linton attempts to describe phenomena as diverse as marriage, forms of government, linguistic usages, laws and religious beliefs, as well as customary postures and etiquette, in terms of individual behaviour, overt or covert. This is obviously an experiment worth making. Legal institutions can be described as a series of rules, together with the mechanisms for their enforcement, which enable a group of people to keep law and order and to carry out activities harmoniously. They can also be described as 'that part of the culture which provides the individual with techniques for inter-action with other members of his society' as Linton does. In other words, social phenomena can be viewed as mechanisms for enabling a society to survive or as a series of stimuli bombarding the individual from infancy up and forcing him to feel, think, act and co-operate with his fellows in a particular way. It is obviously valuable to look at the question from both points of view and the stress on the individual which is so much more marked in current American anthropological literature than it is in this country has certainly been fruitful, since it has stimulated study of the whole process of socialization of the individual (a process now described by Herskovits as 'enculturation'; see MAN, 1949, 4).

But it is hard to believe that culture and society are really such different phenomena that their study must be regarded as a separate

discipline. Even if we push Linton's view to the extreme and consider that the comparative study of the socialization of the individual should be the main preoccupation of the anthropologist, yet it is surely true that this particular type of investigation must follow a very detailed analysis of the social structure and the main institutions of the communities concerned. In fact the attempt to by-pass this preliminary sociological analysis and to proceed straight to the making of hypotheses about personality formation seems to have had disastrous effects in some of the recent literature. Moreover, this concept of culture as 'a way of life' composed of a number of different individual patterns, stimulating as it is from an educational point of view, is yet a difficult concept for the sociologist to handle. Linton rejects the term 'institution,' but when he starts analysing the patterned behaviour of the individual he finds that his isolate is not a single act of behaviour, but a series of related ones for which he is forced to introduce such terms as 'configurations of patterned behaviour,' which is surely another way of saying the same thing, and to the sociologist a rather more clumsy way.

However, Linton's approach from the individual aspect has enabled him to develop a number of concepts which will be of lasting use to sociological theory, in particular the terms 'social role' and 'social status'; and the same applies to his useful distinction between the 'real culture' or the actual behaviour of members of the society, the 'culture construct,' which is the observer's abstract formulation of the modal behaviour of the individuals in the culture, and the ideal patterns or abstractions formulated by members of the society itself. This latter concept, which approaches in many ways the social structure as used by Radcliffe-Brown and others, is very well described in the present book.

Other useful paragraphs are those criticizing the blind application of stimulus-response theories in anthropological analysis, and estimating the influence of constitutional as distinct from cultural influences on the individual.

A. I. RICHARDS

Homo Ludens. By J. Huizinga. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. 192. Price 18s.

74 The anonymous translator has collated the German version of this book, published in Switzerland in 1944, with the author's own English version, which differs considerably from it. The result reads very well, and can be recommended to all social anthropologists.

'The great archetypal activities of human society,' Professor Huizinga says, 'are permeated with play from the start.' We cannot contrast play with seriousness, or associate it with the comic, for games are often taken seriously, and the comic is connected with folly. Play, however, lies outside wisdom and folly, as well as outside truth and falsehood, good and evil. It is not 'real' life, but rather a stepping out of real life into a temporary sphere of activity, with a disposition all of its own. There is no formal distinction between play and ritual, and the consecrated spot cannot be formally distinguished from the playground. There are play elements in war, and from them derive the 'laws of war.' In democratic countries there is also a play element in politics and popular elections. The administration of justice is often a kind of game. Art, music and poetry are forms of play, and philosophy derives from the riddle *via*

the Platonic dialogue. Marxism, with its insistence that everything is based on economic forces, is guilty of 'shameful misconception.'

The only criticism which suggests itself is that the author fails to realize the width of the gulf which divides the romping of children and animals from the kinds of play which he so admirably describes. The rules and conventions, the hallowed spot, the set occasion, the special dress, and the sense of achievement felt by all concerned which characterize a religious rite, a state banquet, a folk-dance festival and a cup-tie, must have their origin elsewhere than in mere ebullitions of superfluous energy. But where? RAGLAN

Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, 1921-1945. By Melanie Klein. London (Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis), 1948. Pp. 416. Price 21s.

75 This book is chiefly concerned with the author's analyses of children, but there is little to indicate that her explanations correspond to anything previously present in the patients' minds. She tells us, for example, of a boy who, after looking at some

pictures, dreamed of armed men. He was assured that what he had really dreamed of was his father's penis, though it does not appear that he had ever seen it. Later Mrs. Klein describes to him the sexual act, in order that she may be able to explain to him that one of his dreams was a dream of copulation. Such descriptions, however, were seldom necessary, for the parents of her patients, though people of some education, were mostly in the habit of allowing their children not merely to share their bedrooms, but to observe the sexual act in full detail. At least this is what she tells us, but one wonders whether it is not, like so much else in the book, 'phantasy.' In her view anything and everything is, or may be, a sexual symbol, and it is not clear why, on this view, people ever think of anything but sex. The word 'sublimation' is of course often used, but its use explains nothing. Analysis, as practised by Mrs. Klein, bears no relation to analysis as the term is commonly used, that is to say the breaking up of a compound into its components. She rather resembles a chemist who, confronted with a variety of soil samples, should label them all 'mud.' RAGLAN

ASIA

Tour Diaries of the Special Officer, Subansiri Area, 1944-45; and Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region. By C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. Shillong (Assam Government Press), 1947. Pp. 137. Map

76 In February, 1944, Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf was appointed the first Special Officer of the hitherto unadministered and practically unknown hill country lying to the east of the Subansiri, one of the main northern tributaries of the Brahmaputra, and between the Tibetan frontier and the plains of Assam. His first task was to establish friendly relations with the Apa Tani tribe, the entire 20,000 of whom are confined to a single upland valley. These expert but unwarlike farmers had long been an easy prey to Daffa raiders from the west and the touring season of 1944-1945 began with an expedition, under strong escort, to some of the most incorrigible of these warlike villages, with the object of making them realize that they must change their ways. In the spring of 1945 the Special Officer, accompanied by his wife and without an escort, visited the so-called 'Miri' country to the east, moving slowly from village to village as he was able to persuade the people to provide the porters which are the sole means of transport in this region. The diaries cover journeys into hitherto unexplored areas and vividly show the difficulties of travelling in some of the worst country in the world. A map shows both the position of the various tribal groups and the vastness of the area still remaining to be explored.

The diaries should be read first, for they show what sweat and toil went to the compiling of the valuable notes. These cover the agriculture of the Apa Tanis, their system of village organization and tribal justice, the position of slaves among them, and the relations of the tribe with their neighbours. There are also notes on trade and barter in the adjoining Daffa and Miri areas, and a valuable final note on the problems of administration. Till Dr. Haimendorf and his wife won their confidence the Apa Tanis were little more than a name, for the few expeditions which had previously passed through their valley had made no real contact with the tribe. These notes therefore contain the first account of an agricultural system which has converted a remote valley into an intensely cultivated garden supporting a population of a thousand to the square mile. They describe too a remarkable judicial system which turns a blind eye to private capture and imprisonment provided that the life of the community is not disturbed, but which will inflict even the death penalty if tribal opinion demands it. A scientific, objective account is also given of slavery as an institution accepted by all and remarkably free from abuses.

The only copies of the diaries and notes in England are those which the Government of Assam kindly allowed to be sent to certain anthropologists and institutions. It is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Haimendorf will in due course publish a book accessible to all. J. P. MILLS

OCEANIA

Fijian Village. By Buell Quain, with an Introduction by Ruth Benedict. Univ. of Chicago Press and C. U. P., 1948. Pp. 459. xvii, bibliography, index, illustrations and maps. Price £1 7s. 6d.

77 An Africanist can only assess this book by its general contribution to social anthropology, and not by its specific addition to knowledge about Oceania. The book is obviously, however, a first-rate contribution to Oceanic studies, and I found it so impressive in its wider interest that I have gone to Quain's earlier analysis, *The Flight of the Chiefs* (1942).

Quain has tried, by describing the complex interaction of individuals in a single village, Nakoroka, within its specific geographical, historical and social background, to solve problems that confront us all: how to make a sociological analysis emerge clearly and yet to make the most of the mass of details of every-day behaviour that a modern fieldworker accumulates, and how to present adequate accounts both of the society and of individuals within it. *Fijian Village* is as successful an essay at solving these problems as any I know. But his individuals' stories are obscured by the number of his characters, and by the constant inevitable interpolation of cultural and sociological analysis, which in turn tends to be lost in details about the individuals.

I was struck particularly by Quain's very fine and moving account of how the Fijians feel that prosperity of the land and of men

depends on the observance of proper behaviour 'after the manner of the land' and on the attachment by blood of the right people to their land and kin, so as to please the ancestors. The chiefs especially are important in this. It is but one of many good analyses. However, I did not like his depiction of Fijian behaviour as unbalanced because its ethos, owing to Tonga and Wesleyan conquest, is inconsistent, swinging between aggressive and restrained ideals. This emphasis weakens his concluding chapters. In the bulk of the book he describes from observation and story the interrelationships of individuals, households and adjacent villages, and traces their interaction as affected by status, kinship and local ties, the making of a livelihood, and the situations of development in the life cycle. The attempt to knit the whole together is made in 'Trouble,' where he considers the life stories of particular individuals; 'Keeping the Peace: Status and Wealth,' in which positive and negative sanctions are assessed; and 'Social Cohesion at Nakoroka.' These are dominated by his concept of the inconsistent ethos, and do not do justice to his account of how people are moved by social and mental processes.

The last chapter was partly rewritten by the late Dr. Ruth Benedict, who also contributed an introductory sketch of Fijian culture after Mr. Quain's death. The tragedy of that death, on a research expedition in the Brazilian interior in 1939, is underlined by *Fijian Village*. MAX GLUCKMAN

CORRESPONDENCE

The Changing Stature of University Freshmen

78 SIR.—A continuous and fairly rapid biological change seems to be in progress at present among young men entering the Universities, and probably among others also.

Between the years 1926 and 1936 a big change took place among freshmen entering the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The proportion of men who were six feet tall or over (age groups 17 to 20 years inclusive) increased from 6.8 per cent. to 17.5 per cent., and the proportion who were less than 5 feet 6 inches dropped

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF FRESHMEN 6 FEET AND OVER
(AGE GROUPS 17 TO 20 YEARS)

	1926	1936	1943	1946	1947
Toronto	6.8	17.5			
Exeter			20.7	19.2	20.0

NOTE.—In these tables age 17 covers the period from 16 years 11 months to 17 years 11 months, and so on.

from 18.8 per cent. to 9.7 per cent. (see J. Allan, 'Some Observations concerning the Stature of Freshmen,' *MAN*, 1937, 157, for full details). The mean height of freshmen increased during the period by 1.6, 1.3, 1.2 and 1.1 inches in the 17-, 18-, 19-, and 20-year age groups respectively, and the average weight in these groups increased by 6.2 lb., 5.7 lb., 3.1 lb. and 4.2 lb. The total number entering in these age groups each year was never less than 619 so the figures could not have been unbalanced by a few extreme cases, and



FIG. 1. PERCENTAGE OF FRESHMEN 6 FEET OR OVER

there was nothing to indicate that the students were being drawn from a different stratum of the community as the years passed.

Unfortunately the numbers entering the University College of the South West, Exeter, Devon, are relatively very small for the few years for which figures are available, but in spite of this a comparison of the figures is interesting and possibly significant in showing a similar trend in progress in England, in spite of the years of strain

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF FRESHMEN UNDER 5 FEET 6 INCHES

	1926	1936	1943	1946	1947
Toronto	18.8	9.7			
Exeter			6.9	5.8	2.0

and stringency since 1939. In 1943, of 87 male entrants in the age groups mentioned 20.7 per cent. were 6 feet in height or more and only 6.9 per cent. were less than 5 feet 6 inches, showing that there were more tall and fewer short freshmen than in the Toronto entry for 1936. Since 1943 the proportion of tall entrants has declined slightly, but the proportion of very short freshmen has declined remarkably (see Tables 1 and 2, and figs. 1 and 2).

The mean height of Toronto freshmen in the age groups considered was 69.25 inches in 1936, yet in spite of war conditions the average for Exeter freshmen in 1943 was 69.8 inches and for 1947 was slightly higher (see Table 3). Very probably the average height for Toronto entrants has by now exceeded these figures and I hope later on to have some exact information about it.

As weight is so greatly affected by distribution within the age groups and the numbers entering the University College of the South West are so small in some of them it is unprofitable to take an

TABLE 3. AVERAGE HEIGHT IN INCHES
(AGE GROUPS 17 TO 20 YEARS INCLUSIVE)

	1926	1936	1943	1946	1947
Toronto	67.90	69.25			
Exeter			69.8	69.71	69.99

average for all the groups. However, for those entering in the 18-year group in 1943 the average was 151.3 lb., that is 8 lb. above the 1936 figure for Toronto men of the same group. Since 1943, the average weight for entrants in this age group at Exeter shows a very marked decline to 144.2 lb. which is still just one pound above the 1936 average for the Canadians (see Table 4). Altogether the Exeter measurements show that the decline in weight is not accompanied by any marked decline in height, suggesting that constitutional growth factors are not affected by a reduced diet during adolescence as long as the essential growth factors are available in adequate amounts.

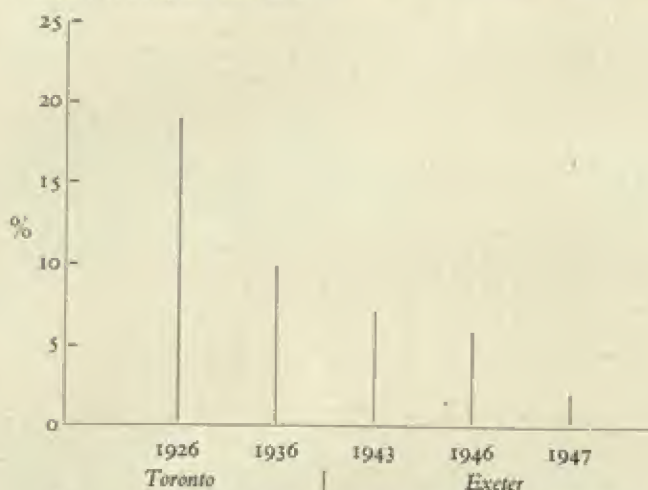


FIG. 2. PERCENTAGE OF FRESHMEN UNDER 5 FEET 6 INCHES

On the whole this brief survey suggests that in spite of depressing conditions over a long period those entering the University College of the South West show no signs of being in any way stunted, though the diet is obviously insufficient at present to maintain weight at levels regarded as normal a few years ago. As to the upward trend in height, it is rather an open question whether the dominant factors producing it are improved dietary knowledge and

TABLE 4. AVERAGE WEIGHT IN POUNDS
(18-YEAR AGE GROUP)

	1926	1936	1943	1946	1947
Toronto	137.5	143.2			
Exeter			151.3	144.9	144.2

improved hygiene, or whether they are to be sought within the germ cell.

My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Murray, Principal, and Dr. Fortescue-Foulkes, Medical Officer, of the University College of the South West.

J. ALLAN
Petersfield, Hants

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the Exhibition held at the
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21 June to 20 July, 1949

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(a) HEAD FOUND NEAR THE STORE AT ABIRI
Height 7½ inches



(b) HEAD FOUND IN FOUNDATION TRENCH AT ABIRI
Height 6½ inches



(c) HEAD WITH BEAD HEADDRESS FROM A FARM SITE
CLOSE TO IFE
Height 6¼ inches



(d) HEAD WITH TASSELLED CAP, FROM AN UNIDENTIFIED
SITE ON A FARM NEAR ABIRI
Height 5 inches

NEWLY DISCOVERED TERRA COTTAS FROM IFE, NIGERIA

Photographs by Bernard Fagg

NEW DISCOVERIES FROM IFE ON EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE*

by

BERNARD FAGG

Government Archaeologist, Office of the Surveyor of Antiquities, Nigeria

Hon. Editor's Note

79 As has already been briefly announced (MAN, 1949, 68), the Royal Anthropological Institute has, with the support of the Arts Council of Great Britain, organized an exhibition in its own premises of 'Traditional Art of the British Colonies,' in connexion with the Colonial Month. It opened to the public on Tuesday, 21 June, at 2.30 p.m. and closes on Wednesday, 20 July, and will be open between the hours of 10 a.m. and 7 p.m. on Mondays to Saturdays. An admission fee of 6d. is charged. A fully illustrated catalogue has been prepared, with description and documentation of all specimens in the exhibition; it is sold generally at 2s. 6d., but each visitor to the exhibition may buy a copy at 1s. 6d. The exhibition is intended to arouse interest in primitive art, anthropology and the Institute, as well as in the Colonies, and subscribers to MAN are invited to supplement the publicity given to it by the Colonial Office and in the press by drawing it to the attention of their friends and by any other means open to them.

The emphasis of the exhibition is on West Africa and especially on Nigeria, which is by far the richest in representational art of all the dependencies administered by the Colonial Office. Many of the finest relics of the ancient kingdom of Benin are on view, including bronzes and ivories of the sixteenth century, and very few of them have been on public view before. Perhaps the most notable feature of the exhibition, however, is the newly discovered terra cotta heads from near Ife, which are the subject of the short article below. Through the courtesy of the Hon. Oba Aderemi, Oni of Ife, and of the Government of Nigeria, the five terra cottas have been flown to this country, within a few weeks of their discovery, especially for exhibition at the Institute.

Since Mr. Kenneth Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities, Nigeria, is arranging an impressive exhibition of Nigerian masks, including many types, of high artistic merit, never previously seen in this country, at the Zwemmer Galleries during the Colonial Month, anthropologists, art-lovers and members of the public will have an unrivalled opportunity of seeing the ancient and more recent antiquities of Nigeria under most favourable conditions. In the Institute's display, however, the other African, Asiatic, Pacific and American dependencies are also represented by first-class pieces.—ED.

The New Finds near Ife

About two years ago three terra cotta heads were found at Abiri, a small cocoa-farming village some ten miles from Ife, during the digging of foundations for a store. This discovery remained a secret, only coming to light as a result of archaeological investigations in Ife itself during March of this year.

Excavations then undertaken by me near to the site of the find at Abiri revealed a considerable number of fragments, including an almost complete coiled snake (apparently a puff adder), a part of one of the heads already found (see Plate Ha, which shows the excavated piece in position), a finely modelled human hand, and sundry objects which appear to be shrine furniture, all displaying



FIG. 1. RAM'S HEAD FOUND IN THE FOUNDATION TRENCH AT ABIRI: LENGTH 8 INCHES

a high degree of technical skill and artistic achievement. Other small fragments were found *in situ* within a few inches of the wall of the store. Excavations inside the building are planned for next dry season.

Until forty years ago when the cocoa farms were planted the area which is now Abiri was under high forest, with no signs of recent habitation. This would suggest that the figures have been lying buried there for two centuries or more. Internal evidence in the specimens themselves (compare particularly the head in Plate Ha with the disputed 'Olokun' head illustrated in MAN, 1949, 1) suggests a period more or less contemporary with the bronze heads, which are provisionally dated to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries A.D. or earlier.

* With Plate H and a text figure

THE FOUNDERS OF THE ZIMBABWE CIVILIZATION*

by

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

80 Although some have declined to consider such a thing, it has generally seemed necessary to postulate some influence other than Bantu at work in the buildings at Great Zimbabwe and other sites in Southern Rhodesia. Enquiry has mostly been confined to mediæval Arab works on the east coast of Africa and to the pre-Islamic Harâm Bilqis south-east of Mârib in south-western Arabia. Some remarkable resemblances between the latter and Zimbabwe have been pointed out by Rathjens and von Wissmann.¹ The present article seeks to show that the influences did not come direct from pre-Islamic south-western Arabia, but *via* Gallaland.

A study of the beads found at Zimbabwe has now established that the buildings were founded at some time between the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., or at least that the site was occupied in those centuries.² This emphasizes the importance of the following two passages of Mas'udi,³ for he was in Africa about A.D. 916 or 917, *i.e.* at the end of this very period. His remarks show (a) that the founders of Zimbabwe were a people from Abyssinia; (b) that the Zimbabwe people had been established for at least several generations by his time; (c) that they were already a power in his day; and (d) that at that time the king's title was a Galla one. This last in its turn draws attention to some remarkable resemblances between Gallaland and its neighbourhood on the one hand and Southern Rhodesia on the other.

Mas'udi says (pp. 5f.):

'Thus, as we have already said, the Zeng and other kinds of Abyssinians (*el Ahâbîsh*) spread over the right bank of the Nile as far as the end of the Sea of Abyssinia. Alone among all the tribes of the Abyssinians the Zeng crossed the channel which comes from the upper course of the Nile and falls into the Sea of Zeng. They established themselves in this country and spread as far as the country of Sofalah⁴ which is the most distant part of the land of Zeng and the limit of navigation for the ships of Oman and Siraf in the Sea of Zeng. Just as the Sea of China ends at the country of Sila [Japan], of which we have already had occasion to speak, so the limits of the Sea of Zeng are at the country of Sofalah and the Waq-waq. This is a land which produces gold in abundance and other marvels. The climate there is hot and the land fertile, and the Zeng chose it as the seat of government. They set up a king over themselves whom they called *wqlimi*. As we have already said⁵ this has been the name of all their kings at all times.⁶ *Wqlimi*, who is the ruler of the other kings of the Zeng, rides at the head of 300,000 horsemen. Their beasts of burden are oxen, for in their country there are no horses or mules or camels, nor do they know them.'

Again, he says (pp. 29f.):

'Let us return now to the information about the Zeng and about their kings. The explanation [of the name] of the kings of the Zeng, which is *wqlimi*, is 'Son of the Great Lord' because he is chosen to rule over them and to establish justice between them. And when the king oppresses them in his government and deviates from justice, they kill him and deprive his children of the kingship. For they claim that if he

act in that way then it is impossible that he can be the Son of the Lord who is King of the Heavens and the Earth. They call the Creator (the Powerful and Great) *mklinghu*, the explanation of which is 'The Great Lord'.'

All of this is very precise. The Zeng originated from near the upper course of the Nile. They were the only Abyssinians to go south and they spread as far as the land of Sofalah. It was in this country that they established the seat of their government and set up a king who had other kings under him, and whose dynastic title was *wqlimi*. *Wqlimi* means 'Son of the Great Lord' who is 'the King of the Heavens and the Earth.' From this it can only be deduced that Mas'udi here gives an account of the establishment of the empire later known to the Portuguese as that of the Monomotapa,⁷ and the arrival in Southern Rhodesia of the builders of one or other of the stone-walled fortresses, if not of Great Zimbabwe itself near Victoria.

On looking back towards Abyssinia we find that the title *Waqlimi*,⁸ as it may be vocalized, is a compound of two Galla words: *Waq*, originally the name of the Sky itself and hence that of the High God,⁹ and *ilma*, 'son,' which give the meaning that Mas'udi applied to the word *Waqlimi*.¹⁰ In its form, however, the word is ungrammatical, for normally it should be *Ilma-Waq*.¹¹ But it so happens that the transposition of the words proves to be a valuable clue to the part of the country whence the *Waqlimi* originated. Dr. A. N. Tucker of the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies kindly made enquiries about this, and has elicited from Mr. Leslau that constructions of this sort occur in Harari and Sidamo.¹² This linguistic peculiarity forms a valuable support to the archaeological resemblances which exist between Sidamo and Harar on the one hand and Zimbabwe on the other, as will be seen shortly.

No doubt the king was peculiarly the Son of God like many other kings, as for instance the Pharaohs. But more than this, the individual Galla also looks upon himself as a son of Waq, for he quite commonly calls upon him saying: 'Thou art my mother, Thou art my father.'¹³

We are referred back to the Galla by yet another statement of Mas'udi, for he speaks of the *Waqlimi*'s army of 'horsemen' (*fâris*). Horsemanship is a most un-Bantu accomplishment, as is reflected in Mas'udi's next statement that 'in their [the Zeng's] country there are no horses or mules or camels, nor do they know them.' On the other hand, the Galla are well known as a race of horsemen; in fact, we are told that 'individual tribes are said to be able to bring 20,000 to 30,000 horsemen into the field.'¹⁴ However, the number, 300,000, which Mas'udi gives for the horsemen of the *Waqlimi* is of course a gross exaggeration. Moreover, the statement that he had horsemen at all is in opposition to the next that there are no horses in the country of the Zeng, and this latter is no doubt correct. The tale of these vast numbers of horsemen can, therefore,

* With a map

only be a memory of those of the Waqlimi's Galla homeland.

Besides all this Mas'udi shows that in his time the population of Southern Rhôdesia was a mixed one, consisting of rulers whose god was called by the Galla name of *Waq* and others who called God *Mkinglu*. Arabic unfortunately rarely shows the vowels, but, vocalized as *Mkulu-ngulu*, this word appears as a good reproduction of a well-known Bantu name for the Deity, such as the Zulu *U-nkulu-nkulu*.¹⁵ The Swazi, now living inland from Lourenço Marques, use the same form as the Zulu, and further north again between Inhambane and Sofalah the Shengwe use the slightly different form *Nungungulu*.¹⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century the old Galla title had been superseded by that of Monomotapa, by which the Portuguese and later comers knew the Emperor. This new title is good Bantu, and the change no doubt represented the absorption of the original Galla ruling stock in that of the local Bantu—the Sons of Waq in the people of *Mkulu-ngulu*.¹⁷

We have now been led back to Abyssinia and the Galla and it is satisfactory to find that the clues provided by Mas'udi are confirmed by archaeological evidence. One of the characteristic finds at Zimbabwe and other sites of this civilization has been that of phalli,¹⁸ and the extreme south of Abyssinia proves to have been an astonishing centre of phallism, using the term not merely in a limited religious, but in its widest, sense. At many sites in Sidamo and the neighbouring country, Wallamo, there are vast fields of huge, well worked monolithic phalli. They are generally about four metres high, though one attained a height of eight metres. They are mostly of granite, the rest being of basalt. These are hard stones which the district does not produce, so that they must have been brought and set up at considerable labour. They are set up on the tops of hills and mountain spurs, where, by adding together the totals given by the explorers at various places, we find that in all they counted some 5,000 of them, and the natives reported that there were many more in the country.¹⁹ They are clearly of a certain antiquity, for the present-day inhabitants of the country know nothing about them, and in digging at one group a fine polished stone axe was found as well as quantities of obsidian flakes.²⁰

To the south of Sidamo and Wallamo lies the country of Konso on the southern shore of Lake Chamo, and here there are funerary statues wearing a phallus as an ornament upright on the forehead.²¹ This remarkable custom is widespread in Kaffa not far away to the west across the River Omo, where the ornament is called the *qallacho*. It is made in gold, silver, or bronze and is granted by the Emperor to those who have slain sufficient enemies and castrated them. Even the wives of famous *qallacho*-wearers have a tiny silver one on their foreheads. Three surmount the Emperor's crown.²² Evidently the *qallacho* is merely an emblem of physical prowess and does not seem to have any religious or magical significance.²³ The Kafficho, and presumably the people of Konso, are not Gallas, but they are their neighbours, and their custom shows how firmly established and widespread phallism was, and indeed still is, all about here. Hence, it is likely that the phallism of the

Zimbabwe civilization originated in the Galla country and its neighbourhood to the extreme south of Abyssinia, whence came the Waqlimi and his people.

Farther away to the east, nearer to Harar, there is an ancient hill town or fort at Bio. It is surrounded by fine, solidly built stone walls without mortar, some two or four metres thick,²⁴ and just across the ravine is another.²⁵ The walls at Bio are planned with a system of projections and recesses exactly like those of Mârib in south-western Arabia.²⁶ It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Bio was a Sabæan foundation of, and in any case not later than, the sixth century A.D., when the famous bursting of the dam at Mârib caused widespread emigration of the people.²⁷ Again, not far away, at Bâté, there are vast stone walls without mortar, and here were found fragments of two



FIG. 1. MAP OF PART OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA

Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters. These are of a type not later than Fatimid times, A.D. 895-1171,²⁸ for this type of lettering is well dated, in the Syrian desert for example, to the seventh to ninth centuries A.D.²⁹ On the other hand, Littmann does not care to admit so early a date as this, but only because the historic Muslim immigration to Harar did not take place before the thirteenth century A.D. He, therefore, thinks that the lettering at Bâté must be a copy of this earlier script,³⁰ and on the strength of this argument Ravaisse concedes that perhaps the inscriptions might date to the latter part of the eleventh century A.D.³¹ However, this latter scholar points out with much reason that little colonies of otherwise unrecorded Muslims may well have preceded the main stream of immigrants which was sufficiently important to leave its mark on history³²; a view which receives support from the resemblance of Bio to pre-Muslim Mârib in south-western Arabia. Other such stone-walled hill forts or towns are to be found near Chenassen to the east of Harar, and in fact are scattered all over the province of Chercher as far as the River Hawash to the edge of the desert.³³

Thus Gallaland and its neighbourhood provide plenty of

parallels with Zimbabwe, and such indications as there are at present suggest that the monuments of Gallaland are of some considerable antiquity. There are the stone implements at one of the sites of the phallic monoliths, then there are the city walls at Bio which are probably not later than the sixth century A.D., and finally there are the early Arabic inscriptions at the stone walls of Bâte.

There are, however, some notable exceptions to the resemblances between Zimbabwe and Gallaland. In the first place no mention is made of any decoration on the dry stone walls either at Bio where they stand as much as three to five metres³⁴ high or at Bâte where they evidently stand to a similar sort of height.³⁵ Nor yet again is there any record of a conical tower³⁶ or anything like one.³⁷ Then there are the great menhirs which are set up so prominently on the walls of some of the Zimbabwe buildings.³⁸ Exact parallels for them are not recorded from Gallaland, but in view of the other similarities perhaps it may be asked whether they are not crude recollections of the great phalli of the north. These latter are set up on the tops of hills and on mountain spurs, as has just been said, and in the conspicuousness thus given them they would correspond to the great menhirs of Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Azaïs and Chambard do report one small menhir not six feet high which stood on a tumulus.³⁹ This perhaps may be compared to the monoliths which stand within the 'temple' at Zimbabwe,⁴⁰ and are about eleven feet high.⁴¹

On the other hand, something else is recorded which may be of interest. This is that to the west of Harar were found four towns of underground dwellings, each consisting of a round room with walls of carefully laid stones and a large flat stone for the roof. May these be compared to the 'pit-dwellings' of which Maciver found so many in some of the hill forts of Southern Rhodesia,⁴² though not apparently at Zimbabwe itself?

The Galla of the ninth century, who pretty clearly founded Zimbabwe, have not been the only ones to push southwards, for such movements can be traced in later centuries, though we are not able to follow them nearly so far south. Thus, Ibn Batutah, who was travelling from A.D. 1325 to 1354, says of the Sultan of Maqadishu: 'and he is by origin from Berbera.'⁴³ In the next century we hear of the Galla a long way farther south than that, nearly as far as Zanzibar. It was at this time that they were driving before them a number of little Bantu tribes to the Pangani River, and were themselves driven back northwards by the Masai and Wa-Kuafi.⁴⁴ All of this is of course a long way north of Zimbabwe and four or five hundred years later than Mas'udi's reports. But as these southward movements are known to have been taking place, there is no reason why there should not have been others during the preceding centuries. No doubt the earlier migration which is of interest at the moment was able to get so far south as Zimbabwe because there was no strong resistance to be encountered such as that offered by the Masai and Wa-Kuafi.

Nor were the ninth-century Galla the only people from their part of Africa to affect the Bantus,⁴⁵ and once more Kaffa and its neighbourhood appear upon the scene. In the

language of Kaffa iron is called *turo*, and in Hadia, on the east bank of the River Omo and thus the country next to Wallamo, it is called *tara*.⁴⁶ It is now long ago that Reinisch pointed out the similarity between the Kafficho word and a root *-tare*, *-tale*, etc.,⁴⁷ which is widespread in the Bantu languages.⁴⁸ Neither of these peoples are Gallas, but they are their neighbours. Also it was not until much later that the words spread southwards, about the latter part of the fifteenth century, as I hope to show one day.⁴⁹

The results of the foregoing information are these. The civilization of Zimbabwe as we see it today did not derive from a single source, but was the outcome of various influences. Among these influences that of the Waqlimi and his people was of the first importance. They came from Gallaland and its neighbourhood, and were already installed in Southern Rhodesia before A.D. 900. As archaeology shows this to have been the time of the foundation of some of the great buildings, it is natural to suppose that it was the Waqlimi and his followers who had them built. This deduction finds much evidence to support it in the archaeology of the countries round about Gallaland, and that, like Great Zimbabwe, shows a resemblance to pre-Islamic Mârib in south-western Arabia. In due time the Galla aristocracy in Southern Rhodesia became absorbed in the surrounding Bantu population.

Notes

¹ Rathjens-von Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise, Vol. II, p. 67 (published in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*, XXXVIII, Reihe B. Band xix, Hamburg, 1932). For the plan of the Harâm Bilqis and its monoliths see *Encycl. of Islam*, s.v. 'Ma'rib,' p. 284, or in less detail, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

² G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, p. 188, and Mr. Beck's study of the beads, pp. 229, 232-235, 237. It was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. that Zimbabwe imported from abroad anything more valuable than these beads (D. Randall-Maciver, *Medieval Rhodesia*, p. 81). Beads have also been found in some ancient gold workings at Bulawayo some 150 miles due west of Zimbabwe, for which Petrie gave it as his opinion that they might well be of early Arab date, suggesting these very eighth and ninth centuries (Petrie in *MAN*, 1904, p. 107).

³ C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Maqoudi, Les prairies d'or*, Vol. III, pp. 5f. and 29f. For the date of Mas'udi's visit to Africa cf. *Encycl. of Islam*, p. 403.

⁴ It is worth noting that at the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Mas'udi speaks of 'the country of Sofalah,' not of 'the town of Sofalah.' Though his contemporary, Bozorg, never mentions either a 'town' or indeed a 'country' of Sofalah, such indications as he gives imply that his Sofalah of the Zeng was a country (L. Marcel Devic, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde, par le capitaine Bozorg etc.*, pp. 51, 54, 175). Similarly in A.D. 1154 Idrisi only shows 'the Land of Sofalah of the gold dust' (reading *thr* for *nbr*, the difference being only that of a single dot), and does not include a town of Sofalah among those he shows in that country (Konrad Miller, *Mappie Arabicae*, Vol. I, Part 2, Map 3). It is not until the thirteenth century that we hear of 'the town of Sofalah' in Qazwini (A.D. 1203-1283) and Yaqût (A.D. 1224), and then again in Ibn Batutah (c. A.D. 1355). Did the town of Sofalah not exist when Zimbabwe was founded? It looks like it.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 292, where he includes among the dynastic titles of various peoples the statement: 'and the name of the kings of the Zeng is *wqlimi* [*wflimi* (note 1 on p. 453) or our editors' unfortunate emendation *flimi*].' In the Arabic script the difference between *wqlimi* and *wflimi* is only a single dot, *q* having two whereas *f* has only one.

⁴ Even supposing that Mas'udi did not write *wqlimi* in Vol. II, p. 292, as discussed in the previous note, the next extract shows clearly that *wqlimi* is a title and not a personal name.

⁵ By that time the old title had been replaced by this new one, which is good Bantu. It lasted on with the empire, which was steadily becoming more and more of a shadow, until it had disappeared by the beginning of the nineteenth century (Randall-Maciver, *op. cit.*, p. 98). From its foundation about A.D. 900 or earlier we thus have a period of 1,000 years for the duration of the empire in one form or another. Long as this is, it is comparable to the stability of the Kitara Empire, which seems to have been founded about A.D. 1000 (J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 186), has had several changes of dynasty, and is continued today in the kingdoms of Unyoro and Buganda. Again, the traditions of the present-day Bushongo take their kings back to the fifth century A.D. (Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, pp. 17-19, 36f.); that is a period of 1,500 years, during which the people have existed as an entity.

⁶ Most unfortunately elsewhere (Vol. I, p. 371) Mas'udi mentions that 'the king of the Zeng is called *flimi*'. This is quite another word, being the Bantu *-falume* meaning 'chief' (Sir H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Vol. I, p. 130, nos. 21, 21e, f, g, and map at the end of Vol. II). This *flimi* has, however, caused endless confusion. It may have caused the writing *wqlimi* which has just been discussed in note 5. Our editors themselves think *flimi* to be a variant of *wqlimi* (Vol. III, p. 445). Ferrand does the same in *Journal asiatique* (1921), Vol. XVII, p. 163. But the text itself shows that such views are unnecessary, and finally the connexions with the Galla and Sidamo do away with any need for explanations of any sort, except of the loss of the dot which changed *wqlimi* to *wflimi*.

⁷ P. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas* (1896), pp. 19-21; von Tiling has a useful study of Waq and Galla religion in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1926, cols. 947-9.

⁸ Thus, these passages show that here at any rate Mas'udi does not confine the name Zeng to the Bantu whom the word is commonly supposed to represent, but includes in it the Galla and presumably all the darker-skinned races. In the same way in Vol. I, p. 231, he speaks of 'the district of Berbera in the country of the Zeng and the Abyssinians,' that is to say in British Somaliland on the coast of the Gulf of Aden.

⁹ As Captain Abraham kindly informs me. Cf. also the Galla's own name for themselves, *Ilm' Orma*, 'Sons of Orma,' the eponymous hero, *Encycl. Brit.* (eleventh edn.), s.v. 'Gallas.'

¹⁰ e.g. Harari: *gey g'igol*, '(of the) city (the) wall' = 'the wall of the city'; Sidamo: *Sidamo ulla* '(of) Sidamo (the) country' = 'the country of Sidamo.' To some extent the same construction obtains in Amharic.

¹¹ Paulitschke, *op. cit.* (1896), p. 20.

¹² *Encycl. Brit.* (eleventh edn.), s.v. 'Gallas.'

¹³ Hess and Meinhof in *Zeits. f. Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, Vol. X (1919-20), pp. 147-9; Ferrand in *Journal asiatique*, Vol. XVII, (1921), pp. 163f. They also give the variants, but *Mkhnglu*, which our editors adopt, is that of the best MSS. Hess and Meinhof add the Herero *Mukuru*, as well as the Zulu form.

¹⁴ Johnston, Vol. I, pp. 271, 302.

¹⁵ Similarly the skeletons from Mapungubwe, a site which appears to be a rather later foundation than Zimbabwe, are said to show no signs of foreign admixture (Morant in *Antiquity*, 1939, p. 341). However, the skeletal evidence appears to be completely at variance with that of archaeology. Is it possible that the Boskop-Bush elements which cause so much difficulty could in reality be Galla?

¹⁶ For example, R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, large numbers at Zimbabwe, p. 140 (11), one at Mt. Fura, p. 143 (39), one at Regina, p. 152 (253); Randall-Maciver, *op. cit.*, two in No. 1 ruin of the Valley Ruins at Zimbabwe, p. 81, others at Umtali and Khami, p. 73; G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Pl. lii, fig. 2.

¹⁷ R. P. Azais and R. Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, pp. 223-75 *passim*, Pls. lxxix-lxxv, lxxviii-lxxx, xcv, xcvi. See also in less detail A. Kammerer, *Essai sur l'histoire antique d'Abyssinie*, pp. 179f. and Pls. xxxiv-xliii. Azais and Chambard report on p. 226 that these monoliths provide

the names of many places, such as Soddo, Soddu and Sodditcha. Cf. also A. E. Jensen, *Im Lande des Gada*, pp. 449-52 and 473-75.

¹⁸ Azais and Chambard, p. 226.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pls. lxxxiii-lxxxviii and pp. 254-6, 259. Cf. also Jensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxiv, b, facing p. 336; p. 434, fig. 141; Pl. xxviii, a and b, facing p. 400; Pl. xxix, a and b, facing p. 416; and p. 436, fig. 142.

²⁰ F. J. Bieber, *Kaffa*, Vol. I, pp. 300-4 and figs. 128-30; Vol. II, Pl. xii, pp. 66-73; Max Grühl, *The Citadel of Ethiopia*, pp. 245, 288, 290, 305, 311. Many warriors had several enemy members dangling from their foreheads and weapons (Grühl, p. 305). One had as many as six on his forehead and yet others hanging from the point of his spear (p. 307). On the return of a victorious army the trophies are thrown in a heap before the Emperor at the review (pp. 307f.), just as they were before Ramesses III in Egypt in the twelfth century B.C. (H. H. Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. I, Pl. xxix, twice, Pl. xxiii, lowest register; Vol. II, Pl. lxxv, lowest register.) Farther to the north the Danakil also cut off the members of the slain enemy, as do the Afar (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* (1893), p. 256) and the Amhara (Grühl, p. 305, note 1). No doubt the custom has been widespread in the world, but it seems to be peculiarly characteristic of the countries round Gallaland. Besides ancient Egypt it has been recorded of the modern Oyo Yoruba of Nigeria (P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, Vol. I, p. 284). Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 389, fig. 119, shows a highly placed priest of Konso wearing a *qallacho* ornament on his forehead. He also mentions that finials to some huts are in the form of phalli: p. 361, fig. 110, p. 329, fig. 101, and p. 333, fig. 102. He adds on p. 495 a legend that Konso was first peopled by a woman who was given a *qallacho* by God.

²¹ Of course, it is possible that the monolithic phalli dominating the landscape were set up as talismans bringing good luck and fertility to the country.

²² Azais and Chambard, Pl. xxvii, figs. 1, 3, and p. 131 and plan on p. 130.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁴ For the plan of the Märib walls see *Encycl. of Islam*, s.v. Ma'rib, p. 284.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

²⁶ Azais and Chambard, p. 137 and Pl. xxviii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 309.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-286.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 309.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33, 35. The Abyssinians know nothing about these citadels, and local tradition only says that they were built either by the legendary race of giants, the Arla, or by the famous medieval Abyssinian emperor Atië Zera Yaqob, and that they were destroyed by Granye in the sixteenth century (pp. 35, 50, 133, 139).

³² Azais and Chambard, p. 131 and Pl. xxvii.

³³ *Ibid.*, Pl. xxviii and p. 137.

³⁴ A 'small tower or cone' is reported from the Webster Ruins; see Caton-Thompson, p. 175, note 3, quoting Andrews in *Proc. Rhodesia Sci. Assn.*, Vol. VII (1907).

³⁵ Nor does there appear to have been anything of the sort at the Harām Bilqis. On the other hand, a stone relief comes from an unnamed site in the Yemen which shows the front of a building (Rathjens and von Wissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 52, fig. 22). Over the door, as it were on the roof, there is a conical erection. Bulls' horns project from it, the top is decorated and has a band of decoration round it, and something (a bowl?) seems to be set on top of it. Does the object represent a sacred cone which was really inside the building, but was drawn where it is in order to be shown? Does the bowl (?) on top of it mean that offerings were poured out or laid on the cone?

³⁶ Maciver, p. 69 and Pl. xxvi a, and cf. the plan on Pl. xxv M, and p. 77, and Pl. b, or better Hall and Neal, Pl. facing p. 208; J. T. Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (1893), figs. on pp. 123, 127; the Webster Ruins, Caton-Thompson, p. 175, note 3. The small ones which stand on the walls of several ruins are presumably only small versions of the large ones at Zimbabwe; Nanatali, half a metre high, Maciver, p. 52 and frontispiece b; Gombe, about twenty inches high, Caton-Thompson, pp. 131, 132, fig. 25 and Pl. xxx, 2; Matendere, three feet long, *id.*, p. 137, note 1, p. 140.

³⁹ Azais and Chambard, Pl. xciv, fig. 1 and p. 270.

⁴⁰ Maciver, pp. 69, 74, and for the positions see the plan on Pl. xxv.

⁴¹ Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁴² Maciver, pp. 7-12, 16-18, Pls. iii, iv, v.

⁴³ C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Vol. II, p. 183.

⁴⁴ Léon des Avranchers in *Bull. de la soc. de géographie* (Paris), Vol. XVII (1859), p. 160. The Pangani flows out between the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar.

⁴⁵ Yet another people from somewhere in the north-east corner of Africa to have gone southwards are the Hottentots, for they speak a language of Hamitic extraction (C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, pp. 211ff.; Meinhof, *Introduction to the Study of African Languages*, p. 100). They have travelled far beyond Zimbabwe, for they reached Cape Colony.

⁴⁶ Kaffa, Bieber, Vol. I, pp. 399, 412; Hadia, J. Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, p. 464.

⁴⁷ 'Die Kafi-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika,' *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Classe d. kais. Ak. d. Wiss.* (Vienna), Vol. CXVI (1888), p. 339.

⁴⁸ Sir H. H. Johnston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 331.

⁴⁹ Scraps of iron were found under the foundations of the conical tower at Zimbabwe, and in the lowest level both at the Maund Ruins and at Acropolis 3. The metal was smelted at the site, for iron slag also came from that level at both these latter sites (Caton-Thompson, pp. 97f.). Though the root in the forms *Dale*, *-dari* is used today by the Ma-Karanga tribes round about Zimbabwe (Johnston, Vol. I, p. 256), it could not have been brought by Waqilimi's people, for the Galla name of iron is something quite different, *sibila* or *sibila guracha* (J. L. Krapf, *Vocabulary of the Galla Language*, p. 19; Paulitschke (1893), pp. 234 and 278, note 422).

OBITUARY

James Hornell, 1865-1949

81 By the death of Mr. James Hornell, on 24 February last, our Institute loses a Fellow whose name is widely known and respected not only for his scrupulous investigations into the morphology, the affinities and the origins of the simpler water craft of almost all parts of the world, but also for his earlier work in another field. He lived, in fact, two lives of active scientific research, gaining distinction in both; the first—zoology, pure and economic—lasted roughly from some years before 1890 to 1925, whilst the second may be timed approximately from 1920 to 1940, though a preparatory overlap with the first phase began much earlier than 1920, and there were several years of reduced activity in the nineteen-forties, mainly owing to the war, during which some few papers and an important book were written.

Hornell joined the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1919 and later served for a time as a member of the Council; but his frequent and prolonged absences abroad, and residence outside London, not only limited his opportunities of co-operating in the work of the Institute, but also restricted his personal contacts with his colleagues, to our loss.

James Hornell had a Scots father and a Lancashire mother, and his schooldays were spent at Kirkcudbright. Then followed a few years at University College, Liverpool, under Professor [Sir] W. A. Herdman, the zoologist and oceanographer, where he produced several papers on marine organisms. In 1891 he moved to Jersey, where he worked for some ten years in close association with Mr. Joseph Sinel, a keen naturalist and archaeologist, whose daughter he married. The zoological papers which he wrote whilst in Jersey, some jointly with his father-in-law, and various other signs of his keenness and activity, were evidently noted by Herdman in Liverpool, and when in 1900 the latter was invited to report on the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, which were not flourishing, he arranged for Hornell to go as his assistant. Thus arose the first conspicuous demonstration of the mobility which afterwards played such an essential part in Hornell's career. Mobility, adaptability, tenacity and longevity were assets that served him well.

When Herdman returned home after about a year in Ceylon, his younger colleague remained for some six years longer, and there seems no doubt that the pearl fisheries profited greatly by the advice and assistance of the two zoologists. Hornell published a number of papers from Ceylon, some of those on pearls and pearl-fishing being written in collaboration with Herdman and [Sir] A. E. Shipley, respectively, and published by the Royal Society (1903-1906). It may be noted that whilst in Ceylon

Hornell was, in 1904, elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society, mainly for his early zoological papers on marine worms.

In or about 1907 Hornell resigned his Ceylon post, but very soon afterwards he was invited to organize the fisheries of Madras; after some years of hard work his success was recognized by his appointment as Director of Fisheries to the Government. This post he held until 1924, when he retired. His pioneering work in fishery research and organization was mainly done whilst in office in Ceylon and Madras, and during this period he wrote a large number of papers and reports not only on organized fishery methods but also on the marine fauna of the fishing areas.

From now on he held no long-term appointments, and was free to travel even more extensively than before. In this he was greatly aided and encouraged by his several engagements, at intervals, as Fishery Adviser to the Governments of Sierra Leone, Palestine, Malta, Mauritius, Seychelles Islands and Baroda. During the journeys necessitated by these commitments, spread over the next fifteen years or so, he was able to accumulate much information concerning the forms and structure of the fishing and other craft he encountered, and so greatly to increase the knowledge gathered whilst he was in Ceylon and Madras. It may be noted that already in 1907 he had visited the coasts of Japan, China and Indo-China, and made observations on sampans, junks and many other types of craft, whilst in 1918 the vessels of the Malay Archipelago had had their turn. Immediately after leaving Madras he was enabled, with the aid of a grant from the Percy Sladen Trust, to join, in 1924, the 'St. George' Expedition to the South Seas. The chief results were many records concerning the canoes of Fiji and Polynesia, afterwards to be embodied in his largest and perhaps most valuable single work; and some interesting archaeological records and specimens (now in the British Museum) from Gorgona Island, off the coast of Colombia (see *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LVII, 1927).

A full list of the countries, seas, oceans, coasts, rivers and lakes visited by Hornell for his investigations into the water craft that came to form his main scientific interest, would resemble a random sample from a world gazetteer. To those already mentioned may be added the Ganges, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Nile, Uganda, Madagascar, Mesopotamia, Scandinavia and various parts of the British Isles. Snatched opportunities at a great number of ports of call had their value, whilst Museum visits in many countries provided information concerning types of craft that could not be examined where they were built and floated.

A bibliography of Hornell's publications (C.U.P., 1938) lists nearly 200 titles, of which Zoology; Fishery Research and

Administration; and Ethnology (water craft) claim some 50 each. Amongst other ethnographical papers listed are some on string figures, traps and snares, and one in the *J.R.A.I.* (1924) on 'South Indian Blow-Guns, Boomerangs, and Cross-Bows.' Archaeology and Folk-lore have a few titles each, but Botany only one.

It was not until the nineteen-thirties that the papers on water craft began to predominate in Hornell's output of publications, and it was during these years that his second reputation was consolidated. He became the principal technological authority on the simpler types of vessels—floats, rafts, canoes of bark and skin, dugouts, outrigger canoes, plank boats and some types of small ships, in all the variety of their form, structure and accessory appliances. His work was always distinguished by the great care and attention with which he observed and described, measured and 'dissected,' drew and photographed. In the journeys he so often undertook and the sojourns he made, the conditions of life were often arduous and uncomfortable, whilst the prolonged examination and recording of his 'specimens' in many climates and in many weathers, in watery environments, and under no sheltering roof, with an open beach as a laboratory 'table,' might well have daunted or defeated a much younger man, and there is evidence that his constitution did not escape injury from the strenuous life that he led. Until the end of the Madras appointment, his wife went with him on his journeys, and that this sharing of the hardships greatly mitigated them cannot be doubted; it was an extension of the support and assistance which he received from her during the whole of his working life.

Amongst Hornell's larger publications must be mentioned *The Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji and Micronesia* (1936), being Part I of *The Canoes of Oceania*, by A. C. Haddon and J. Hornell, of which Part III (Conclusions, etc.) was written jointly (1938); *The Fishing Luggers of Hastings* (1938); the several papers on the coracles of India, Mesopotamia and the British Isles, together with Irish

currachs; and his book entitled *Water Transport: Origins and Early Evolution* (1946), which is a general survey of some of the ground covered in his scattered papers. In it he puts forward some of his views on debatable problems of invention, evolution and diffusion. He was usually—not always—cautious in his approach to such matters, and speculation did not greatly appeal to him. Amongst papers published by him after his return to England from Palestine in the early days of the last war is one in the *Journal of the Linnean Society* entitled 'How did the Sweet Potato reach Oceania?' (1946). Most of his water-craft papers will be found in our *Journal* and in *MAN*, in the *Mariner's Mirror*, and in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, but a number of other publications welcomed contributions from him.

At the time of his death in his eighty-fourth year, Hornell was a member of the Council of the British Association, whose Annual Meetings he attended at intervals. It was no doubt due in part to his unassuming and retiring disposition, in part to the fact that he had no abiding academic associations, and perhaps in part to his frequent and prolonged absences from England, that no university had been moved to distinguish itself and him by the award of a well earned honorary degree. His large collection of photographs and lantern slides is bequeathed to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

From our Institute Hornell received in 1944 the Rivers Memorial Medal, and early last year he was elected Huxley Memorial Medallist and Lecturer—our highest honour—for the present year. Our sympathy with his widow, and our regret at the loss of a popular and distinguished Fellow, are stressed by realization that he cannot be present to receive his medal and lecture before the Institute at the usual meeting that would have been held to honour jointly Thomas Henry Huxley and the lecturer; he has died in the fullness of his years and of his prolonged services to science, but his work will live.

H. S. HARRISON

REVIEWS

AFRICA

The Bored Stones of South Africa. By A. J. H. Goodwin. *Annals of the South African Museum, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, University of Cape Town, 1947*

82 This important work is for reference, not for armchair reading. The author, who took the Archaeological and Anthropological Tripos at Cambridge after the first world war, could hardly be better qualified for the task he has undertaken. Honorary Keeper of Ethnology in the South African Museum and Lecturer at Cape Town, he has, perhaps, more completely than any other present-day researcher combined for himself the interests of the prehistorian and the ethnologist. His country, of course, lends itself particularly well to the long recognized relationship of the two subjects, but even so not every South African prehistorian is such a good ethnologist or *vice versa*. In the present work Mr. Goodwin is concerned with the manufacture, classification and geographical distribution of the various types of stones with artificial holes through them which occur fairly plentifully in South Africa and date from the later Stone Age to modern times. There are a number of varieties—spherical, elongated, piriform, disc-like, etc.—and their distributions vary. A survey of all the known specimens and their classification has indeed been a big task, and Mr. Goodwin is to be congratulated on having produced a real addition to knowledge. Three main groups are recognized: (i) Prehistoric (associated with Wilton, Smithfield or Kitchen Midden industries); (ii) Bantu (mostly eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and used by a cattle-keeping people who also practised agriculture and terraced their land); (iii) Tlokwa which can perhaps be subdivided into those

belonging to the Mantatees period (the Mantatees were an immigrant folk who invaded the Free State in historical times) and the Mantatees refugee period, after the Mantatees had been crushed and dispersed—the bored stones in this latter sub-group obviously cover a wider area of dispersion than the previous one.

These stones were in all cases hafted and the weight of the larger types thus added to pointed sticks made them much more effective for purposes of digging. Hence their special usefulness to the Bantu peoples in group (ii). This purpose can hardly be postulated for the prehistoric period, where, however, the bored stones are not uncommon, being frequently depicted hafted on sticks, in the rock-shelter art. Doubtless they were used for digging up wild-growing roots, etc., required for food. The small bored stones were used for lighter work. Miss Bleek once told me that the small *Ikwees* were not always children's tools, but were even used to poke the fires!

It is the fashion nowadays to neglect typology and technology and to concentrate attention on such exciting matters as the possible burial rites of prehistoric man, or discussions about his outlook on life. Maybe it will eventually be found possible to establish some of these things to the satisfaction of the critical student of the subject, but I am quite certain that, without a sure factual foundation for our subject such as is supplied by detailed typological and technological studies of the kind which Mr. Goodwin has given us in the present work, the speculations of some of our more imaginative investigators will have little to rest upon and will become top-heavy through lack of adequate groundwork.

M. C. BURKITT

Coniagui. By Monique de Lestrang. Paris (C.M.C.), 1948. Pp. 241, with illustrations

83 The author, a young pupil of Professor Rivet, spent nine months in the part of French West Africa just to the east of Portuguese Guinea, collecting, on behalf of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, measurements, artifacts, vocabularies, as well as studying the customs of the natives. The main results of her investigations have no doubt been published elsewhere; here she recounts her experiences in the form of a diary, in which she describes many ceremonies, in particular that of the girls' initiation, involving clitoridectomy. The book, which is written in a very sprightly and humorous manner, illustrates many aspects of life and administration in French West Africa, and the vivacity of the author is such that she remains interesting even when laid up with jaundice.

RAGLAN

The Uniform of Colour. By Hilda Kuper. Witwatersrand Univ. Press, 1947. Pp. xii, 160, and 32 plates. Price 15s.

84 This book was intended to form part of a single volume with its predecessor, *An African Aristocracy* (see MAN, 1948, 161). Detached from the latter, it almost represents the picture of a primitive society transformed by the impact of a dominant invading culture, taken at a given moment in time and without historical background, which might be postulated as the right way to present the results of a study of culture contact. It does not, however, show invaders and invaded forming a single new society, because the Europeans who govern, employ, teach and proselytize the Swazi, as well as occupying a large area of their land, are treated solely in terms of the effects of their activities.

Dr. Kuper gives us the reaction of Swazi society to the three main types of contact agent—official, missionary and trader—and to the less readily personified economic forces which have made them dependent on wage labour in distant cities while not transforming them into an industrial population. The most interesting respect in which the Swazi diverge from a now familiar pattern is in having a ruler who, though highly educated, remains a pagan, and is thus able to maintain the economic position and the political relationships resulting from a number of polygamous marriages, such as most African chiefs have now had to forgo. She gives a particularly illuminating account of the dilemma of the Paramount in his dual position as ruler of his own people and agent of the Governing Power.

Her treatment of this situation prompts some questions as to the method by which the process of culture change should be studied, and the results presented, when one element in the process is the deliberate policy of a government alien to the people whose culture is under examination. The picture before the eye of the anthropologist is the end product of the process. Unfortunately it is rarely a picture which he can contemplate with complete detachment, and his reaction is more often one of distress than pleasure. How far and in what way should this reaction influence his presentation of the facts? If he were completely self-denying, he might make no comment and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. In practice he can hardly refrain from indicating points where the results of the process are unsatisfactory in terms of the values of both the cultures which are in contact. At this stage he might again be content to say, 'This is what deliberate policy, whatever its motives or intentions, has in fact produced.' His description of the situation may well include some account of the views on the actions of their rulers of the people experiencing the consequences of the policy. But must he not distinguish clearly between reporting these views and endorsing them, and between his own views and those of his informants?

Dr. Kuper does not entirely succeed in making these distinctions clear. In relation to the control exercised by Government over the Paramount, she says: 'A steady curtailment of traditional powers . . . without compensatory development have left a deep distrust of the government among the Native inhabitants' (p. 51). Are we to take this as the Swazi formulation? It seems more probable that it is Dr. Kuper's reading of the underlying causes of the distrust. Some of the reasons which the Swazi themselves give appear on a later page and contribute more to the objective description of the facts.

An anthropologist who wishes to go beyond this ought, I would suggest, to be prepared to make the same objective study of governmental actions as his training requires him to make of native actions. Too many are content to accuse governments of deceit and malevolence in very much the same way as administrators stigmatize native behaviour. The study that would be needed is too wide to be an incidental in a programme of field research, and perhaps should be separately done by other workers. It involves the whole question of the motives, interests and pressures which go to the formulation of policy and the circumstances, interests and pressures which may intervene between formulation and implementation. It might lead on many occasions to the conclusion that policies have been formulated with insufficient grasp of their implications, and that they have been modified in the interests of groups—rarely native groups—in a position to exercise political pressure. But the final picture would be something subtler than the popular one of a personified government whose actions are the direct expression of the less admirable human characteristics.

Dr. Kuper's generalizations on British policy with regard to the status of African chiefs are clearly not based on any comparative study, nor does she mention—if she is aware of them—the reasons which have been advanced for the extension to chiefs whose position had been recognized by special agreement of that degree of control to which Native Authorities generally are subject. The argument was advanced by such friends of the African as Mrs. Ballinger and Sir Alan Pim that the freedom of the chiefs from effective pressure by Government was one reason for the stagnation of the High Commission Territories. Perhaps it is true that it was a breach of faith to modify the early agreements; it would still be worth considering the long period during which they were maintained before the British Government felt obliged to change them.

The right to depose a Native Authority, selected by Dr. Kuper for special emphasis, is one aspect of the relation between chiefs and Government which follows from the acceptance of the principle that their powers are not inherent but derive from their express recognition. This right may be a temptation to get rid of chiefs who are not subservient, but the statement that it is used against all such could not be proved or disproved without investigation of the relevant facts—a study, for example, of the relations with Government of a sufficient sample of the hundreds of African Native Authorities, or an examination of the actual cases of deposition and the ostensible grounds for them. In many of these the reason given is habitual drunkenness or a criminal charge, often of embezzlement. Are these trumped-up charges against defenders of their people's rights? Only a careful study could give the answer.

L. P. MAIR

Ibo Village Affairs. By M. M. Green. London (Sidgwick and Jackson), 1948. Pp. 262, with map. Price 10s. 6d.

85 Miss Green has hung the bait for the Appendix to this valuable little book so temptingly in her Preface and Introduction that this reader—who always resented the necessity of saving dessert until the last—immediately succumbed and read the Appendix first. As one's elders always warned, it very nearly spoiled the rest of the meal. To be told seriously, no matter how provisionally, that the reason the Ibo don't get on with the British is that they have immediate, amplifying minds, whereas the English mind is deliberate and simplifying, does not provide a very good base for the solid fare which the rest of the book contains. This reviewer's advice would be not to read the Appendix at all; but if you must, read it last—where its author placed it—and not at the same sitting with the rest of the book.

The book proper is divided into three sections: the first a description of village organization and law, the second a short account of the various exogamic units, and the third a good description of the organizations of Ibo women.

The first section suffers because the author has adduced too many hypotheses and theories. Instead of presenting the material and attempting to draw generalizations from it, she has built several of the sections around hypotheses which compartmentalize the material in an artificial manner. The theory of reciprocity in law, set forth by Simmel and Malinowski, is cited, and we are then told of

reciprocity in Ibo law; Radcliffe-Brown's ideas about social sanctions are adduced and a description of Ibo sanctions follows. The result is that, though a great many hypotheses have been referred to and illuminated, none has been scientifically investigated.

The hypotheses which would have been most valuable for a framework both for investigation and presentation of the Ibo material—the lineage organization—have been rejected, apparently purposely rejected. The organization of the Ibo village is built up on a system of interrelated segmentary lineages, for the most part consistent and coterminous with local grouping. If Miss Green had taken the lineage principle into account, the organization of the great mass of difficult material would have been facilitated, and a notable theoretical contribution could undoubtedly have been made in addition.

The descriptive passages of the section on exogamy are valuable, but the author tends to place too much emphasis on exogamy as a primary cause. Since local units and lineage units tend to coincide, the local group can be said to be exogamous. The women who marry into the group retain contacts with their natal villages, and one gets a picture of constant movement of women throughout Iboland. 'It would seem,' Miss Green writes, 'that the social function of exogamy is . . . the ensuring that each village shall be linked to the surrounding ones by the bond of inter-marriage.' The links exist and the collective sentiments about exogamy exist; they are consistent. But exogamy is an index, not a function or a cause.

The organizations of Ibo women are built on two bases: the local group (of almost any size or order) into which the women have married, and the local group in which the women were born. Within the group into which they have married, women have prestige and precedence exactly reflecting that of their husbands, though—as in all Ibo groups—strength of personality can in many ways upset this arrangement. 'Meetings' of all the women who were born in one local group (and who are also kinswomen), held in their husbands' homes, mean that women from many villages make many journeys of some distance. The author gives us very little about the travelling of the men, however; the ties of a woman to her own people produce cognatic ties in the next generation, and we are told that a man feels safe with his mother's people; we also know that there is much visiting between affines. But the relative amount of

travelling that men do, thereby expressing the inter-village links, is not clearly defined.

The fact that the book is limited to one community in Iboland, with occasional references to comparative material, greatly enhances its value and also adds to the value of other Ibo material, especially Meek's *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*. The data contained in this small book will be of use to anthropologists for many years to come.

PAUL J. BOHANNAN

Récits Bara. By Jacques Faublée. *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, Vol. XLVIII, Paris, 1947. Pp. 537. Price £1 13s.

86 This very readable volume of folk tales and myths from a little-known people of Madagascar is an admirable piece of work. The texts are given in the original Malagasy, even in some cases with their imperfections on their heads, with a careful translation into French on the lower half of each page. If the author departs from the standard orthography in favour of a system of his own devising (which is explained in the Introduction), it is nevertheless true, as he himself points out, that no one who knows the language will find it difficult to read.

The material has been divided into sections according to whether it bears upon the family, the diviners, taboos, creation myths, etc., and each tale is accompanied by notes relating a situation described in the tale to actual custom among the Bara, or giving elucidatory material on an obscure point. There is a great deal of information contained in these notes and attention should particularly be drawn to the two pages of exposition on the principle of the Bara *sikidy* (a form of divination) which are the most concise and informative in the literature. The work is indexed and has a good bibliography of the subject, and in the Introduction and appendices the author gives in a rather condensed form much valuable critical comment based on his own sympathetic knowledge of the Bara themselves and a wide acquaintance with the literature.

It is in the nature of folklore, perhaps especially of Malagasy folklore, that the explanations which many of these tales purport to give of social customs only confuse the student, and it is interesting and stimulating to realize how much work remains, after the beginning made particularly by A. M. Hocart, to be done in this field.

MARY DANIELLI

AMERICA

The Negro in America. By Arnold Rose. London (Secker and Warburg), 1948. Pp. xi, 325. Price 21s.

87 This book is a condensed version of *An American Dilemma*, which was written for the Carnegie Corporation by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal with assistants, and published in 1944. The author was one of the assistants; besides condensing the work, he has added fresh matter to bring it up to date.

The book, which is admirably written, contains in a compendious form a vast amount of information about every aspect of Negro life in the United States, together with many judicious observations on the relationship of the Negro problem to internal and external politics.

RAGLAN

Ons Koninkrijk in Amerika, West Indië. 's Gravenhage (van Hoeve), 1947. Pp. 381, maps and photographs

88 When, during the last war, the Netherlands overseas territories in the Western hemisphere were the only part of the Dutch Kingdom not occupied by enemy forces, it was obvious that this area would draw more attention from the general public than had been the case in quieter times. The Netherlands Government in exile had several publications prepared by the Information Bureau in New York, such as *Netherlands America* and *A Selective Guide to the English Literature on the Netherlands West Indies*, both by P. H. Hiss, and various pamphlets on developments in the Caribbean.

Among other institutions which showed their interest in the subject, the *National Geographic Magazine* published articles on the islands of Curaçao and Aruba and on Saba (February, 1943, and

November, 1940); and the Royal Institute of International Affairs published in its *Information Department Papers* an issue (No. 28) on the Netherlands Overseas Territories; this, of course, contains data on Indonesia as well.

In occupied Holland people knew nothing about these publications, but they had the same ideas: to make the Netherlands West Indies better known to the public at home, who were themselves asking for information. The idea, however, of treating both the mainland territory of Dutch Guiana (Surinam) and the Netherlands Antilles in one volume was a new one. When, in 1943, Baroness van Heemstra, daughter of a former Governor of Surinam, put the proposal before the then Director of the Ethnological Department of the Colonial Institute, Professor Schrieke willingly undertook to be co-editor with her of such a combined volume. Some forty persons who happened to be in Holland and had served in the West Indies in one capacity or another before the war were invited to write on their respective subjects, covering the whole scope of life in the West Indies. Thus the book (which, owing to war and post-war difficulties, was actually published only in 1947) has three main parts: a general one containing the topics common to both Governments, one specifically on Surinam and one on the Netherlands Antilles. A chapter was included on events during the war, and the whole volume was made up to date (1945) before being printed. Some concluding chapters on the future close the survey. Scores of photographs and some maps help to give a clear picture of every aspect of the life in the Netherlands West Indies. There is no general index, but the rather detailed table of contents makes up for this lack to some extent.

When one takes into account the fact that post-war developments have been too many and too sudden to make it possible for them to be included in any publication of more than journalistic scope, this volume has its value as a serious survey of the development and trends in the Netherlands West Indies from the beginning of the Dutch colonization in the seventeenth century till 1940-1945. Chapters on geology, soil, climate, fauna and flora, languages, missions and churches, population, etc., lose little by the lapse of time, while others, e.g. transport, aerial photography, mining (bauxite), industries (oil refineries), and finances, give a good historical summary up to 1945 which is worth reading as such.

For anthropologists I may specially point out the articles on the population and its composition (p. 195 for Surinam, p. 291 for the Antilles); on health and hygiene, giving a good idea of the strangely built population pyramids, especially in the smaller Antillean islands from which the men of working age are drawn to the 'oil islands' of Curaçao and Aruba (p. 106); on the native languages (Negro-English in Surinam, Papiamentu on Curaçao, p. 78) and on music (p. 84), both by the Surinam-born novelist Albert Helman (Lou Lichtveld). Another Surinamer, R. van Lier, has written with insight on the structure of native society among the Red Indians and the Bush Negroes (p. 206).

The volume contains much information which is very useful for the Dutch public for which it is meant; there is, however, a certain failure to link up the problems treated with the more general ones of the Caribbean area as a whole. The Dutch reader may get the impression from most of the chapters that Netherlands Guiana and the Netherlands Antilles are the West Indies—an error of thought which is often found in the attitude of colonizing peoples towards their own overseas territories. JOHANNA FELHOEN KRAAL

The McDougall Collection of Indian Textiles from Guatemala and Mexico. By Laura E. Start. *Occ. Pap. on Technology* 2. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1948. Pp. 114, with photographs, 3 diagrams and over 100 figs.

Those who heard Miss Start's lecture at the Royal Anthropological Institute on the Indian textiles from Guatemala and Mexico, collected by Mrs. Elsie McDougall, will know what a splendid gift the Pitt Rivers Museum received from Mrs. McDougall and how ably Miss Start could explain how the textiles were made. The Museum has now in some measure shared its good fortune with others in publishing the results of Miss Start's study of the collection.

The paper is divided into sections dealing with Guatemala and with Mexico, each prefaced by a brief geographical and historical

note, and the bulk of the publication consists of a technological description of each piece, with accounts of the looms and processes used in making each class of garment. The work is beautifully illustrated by the author's drawings and Mrs. McDougall's photographs.

The Pitt Rivers Museum has set itself a high standard in this series, further numbers of which will be very welcome.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century. By George Kubler. Yale Univ. Press and Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948. 90 2 Vols., pp. xxv, 230, and pp. xvi, 344, with 468 figs. and map. Price in Great Britain, 82s. 6d.

The title of this book is an understatement. There is much of importance for the anthropologist on the development of the Mexican Indians under the impact of conquest and colonization by a small body of strangers who possessed a vastly more advanced technology. We are given tables of population statistics and details of labour productivity under both Indian and Spanish rule. There are many details of Indian constructional technique, and a lucid description of the Municipality of Mexico City gives much detail of the how and why of the early building programme, illustrated by some fascinating Indian-drawn town plans. The other great centres of building activity were the missions controlled by the mendicant friars. Dr. Kubler traces the cultural inspiration of these works to various European sources, and it is a pleasure to an English reader to find Bishop Zumarraga annotating St. Thomas More's *Utopia* as a guide to town-planning in the new Indian settlements.

In dealing with painting Dr. Kubler tells us that Indian styles were little changed until about 1570; but the little group of Techaloyan codices of about 1533 and the Lienzo de Tlaxcala itself, which has entirely abandoned the old canons of proportion, show that the Indian painters adopted Spanish ways as readily as the builders. This is a minor point, however, and the book is of importance to all interested in the mechanics of culture contact. To the art historians it is an example of painstaking work in a little-known field.

An amusing typographical atrocity occurs on pp. 24-7, where the word 'establishment' is divided by a table covering three pages, probably enough to establish a record in hyphenation. The format of the volumes and the type face used are very pleasing, and a great number of photogravure illustrations enables the student to examine details with the aid of a lens, in a manner impossible with half-tone blocks. A bad feature is the discontinuity of numeration between the line blocks and the plates, which involves much unnecessary turning of pages.

C. A. BURLAND

OCEANIA AND INDONESIA

Indonesian Art. The Asia Institute, New York, 1948. Pp. 211 and about 90 plates

91 This is the illustrated catalogue of an exhibition organized for the Asia Institute by the Royal Institute for the Indies, Amsterdam, and shown in New York in the autumn of 1948. C. T. Bertling writes the preface and Robert von Heine-Geldern an introductory essay. 'Indonesian' here includes the whole of the Netherlands East Indies including Western New Guinea. Some 700 objects were exhibited; the plates, all excellent, appear to be reasonably representative of these.

The catalogue contains many interesting ethnographic notes, but no bibliographic reference as to sources. Heine-Geldern's essay sorts out the confusing historical possibilities of the first millennium B.C. with a dogmatism that is rather startling for anyone with some knowledge of the field; the general treatment is a more or less one-track diffusionism of the type favoured by the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith. The native art styles of Indonesia reflect, it seems, three basic influences which are prior to the historical Hindu-Buddhist phase of the fourth century A.D. and later. Of these three basic influences, the earliest is our old friend the Megalithic Culture, while the other two are said to be Dongson and Late Chou, both derived from an earlier European source of Mycenaean style! When one considers the very limited sorts of material that have survived from

Late Chou times and compares these with the lavish variability of, let us say, modern Bornean art, such reconstructions appear to be little more than erudite guesswork. Among the most interesting plates in the book are the six illustrations of modern Balinese painting, which show qualities of style reminiscent of European tapestry work at its best.

E. R. LEACH

Papoea's van Waropen. By G. J. Held. Leiden (Brill), 1947. Pp. xv, 372, with many text figures, 33 plates (77 photographs) and 2 maps. Price 15 guilders

92 This is, I believe, the first detailed study of any of the groups in the well-populated Geelvink Bay area of northern Dutch New Guinea, a region of great ethnographic and linguistic interest, since it is a meeting-point of Papuan, Melanesian and Malayan cultural influences. The author entered the field in 1939 and his manuscript was completed in 1942, publication being held up by the war. The Waropen (population 3,500 in 1937) were formerly notorious for their slave-raiding and head-hunting activities which were carried on as part of an elaborate institution known locally as *rask* (Waropen: *da*), and they frequently suffered from punitive expeditions in consequence. Regular administration dates only from 1918, though some villages became Christian as early as 1906. With the conversion of the Nubuai community in 1938, the whole

tribe could be rated as Christian and pacified. Dr. Held's special purpose was to examine the probable influence of the traditional social system and ritual organization of the Waropen upon the new Christian society. To this end he carried out most of his research work in the newly converted village of Nubuai (population 1,600). In the main his account is of the pre-Christian situation. It is an extremely able piece of work. The formal arrangement of the book is in sections of thirty to fifty pages entitled: Introduction, Social Organization, Marriage, Ritual of the Living, Ritual of the Dead, *Raak* and Trade, Sacred and Profane, Mythology, Material Culture. The ethnographic emphasis is thus on social organization rather than material culture, on ritual rather than on economics. The technique of analysis and the underlying theory have been strongly influenced by the work of such sociologically inclined writers as Durkheim, Malinowski and Thurnwald. My knowledge of Dutch being regrettably deficient, I can make no claim to review the book in detail, but I can record that the structural analysis given in the sections on Social Organization and Marriage is admirably clear, while the description and detailed analysis of the *raak* is not only fascinating in itself but of major importance for comparison with various institutionalized forms of head-hunting, slave-raiding and prestige feasting that have been recorded from other parts of the Indonesian and Melanesian regions. I must, however, remark in

criticism that there is sometimes a tendency to make hypothetical reconstructions of a much greater complexity than the facts warrant. Thus pages 46-62 give a very good account of the territorial organization of a Waropen village, which consists of a number of localized non-exogamous clans (*da*) subdivided into more or less exogamous house groups or extended families (*ruma*). This arrangement is coupled with a preference for asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage (mother's brother's daughter preferred; father's sister's daughter barred) and some ambiguity as between patrilineal and matrilineal residence. Kinship is stressed with the *ruma* of residence rather than with any particular unilinearly defined descent group. This situation certainly has many Malayan and Polynesian parallels, if not Melanesian ones. But having made his description, Dr. Held resorts on page 63 to a highly artificial explanatory construct in which he postulates two original *ruma* (now rated as matrilineal moieties) each further divided into four patrilineal clans and pursuing the convolutions of an eight-subsection marriage system of Australian type. Readers need not, I suggest, follow Dr. Held into speculations of this sort. The numerous photographs are of only moderate quality and interest. Footnote references are often somewhat incomplete and could with advantage have been consolidated into a bibliography.

E. R. LEACH

ARCHAEOLOGY

Early Man. By A. H. Brodrick. London (Hutchinson), 1948. Pp. 288. Price 18s.

93 Prehistoric Painting. By A. H. Brodrick. London (Avalon Press), 1948. Pp. 37 with 56 plates. Price 10s. 6d.

In these two books Mr. Brodrick attempts general surveys respectively of prehistoric archaeology and of prehistoric painting. In both he obscures his exposition by refusing to keep to his own specialized definition of prehistory. To him prehistory is the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, the long story of man's origins and development before the metal-using civilizations of the Near East came into existence or Europe was civilized by impoverished contacts with the Most Ancient East. In *Early Man* his main concern is with recording the discoveries of man and his works found from the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, but this does not prevent him from giving brief descriptions of the Chinese Bronze Age, the Indus Civilization and the predynastic sequence in Mesopotamia.

Early Man is a courageous attempt at bringing together the great amount of information now available about the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, but the result is not a great success. The book still wears the appearance of a collection of notes, précis and press cuttings; the information has not been welded together into a new or even a coherent picture of man's origins. And sometimes the notes have gone wrong, as when (p. 170) the Jemdet Nasr period of Mesopotamian prehistory is put between Tell Halaf and Uruk, and the al 'Ubaid period after Uruk. The bibliography and footnotes reveal the strangest omissions in the reading which has formed the basis of this book: Breuil's classic paper on the classification of the Stone Age, the papers of Garrod and Peyrony on the Upper Palaeolithic, Caton-Thompson on the Aterian and the Levallois, Movius on Burma and Ireland, Leakey, Wayland and O'Brien on East Africa—all these are omitted, while Aberg's great *Bronzezeitliche und Früh-eisenzeitliche Chronologie*, which has nothing to do with the book, is included, while Zolotarev is made to write on North Africa instead

of Siberia, and Obermaier is given the authorship of the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*! These omissions and errors may be due to faulty proof-reading, haste or lack of scholarship. Taken with the text, they strengthen the general impression that *Early Man* is an ill-digested piece of incomplete scholarship. This is definitely not a book for the specialist or the general reader of prehistory; but the ordinary archaeologist may find in it snippets of information that he has otherwise missed.

Prehistoric Painting is a better book, and here Mr. Brodrick is dealing with a subject about which he knows very much more. He surveys the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic paintings from Europe to Australia and South Africa, and his survey is accompanied by 56 well chosen and extremely well produced illustrations, four of them in colour. He stresses the fact that whereas most of the Palaeolithic cultures, and, for that matter, most of the subsequent cultures of Europe, are regarded as invasions from Asia, Africa or the Near East, Upper Palaeolithic art developed in France and Spain, and is the first specifically European achievement in man's history. Brodrick thinks that Upper Palaeolithic art came into being as part of a 'moral revolution' caused by the clash of Aurignacian and Neanderthal man. He emphasizes the continuity of pictorial art in Spain and says he has himself examined Berber women of the Moroccan and Algerian Atlas whose bodies were marked with symbols identical with those to be seen on the later prehistoric rock paintings of Spain. This volume is one of a series called *Discussions on Art* produced by the Central Institute of Art and Design; it is good that a series which deals mainly with modern painting should include such a book as this one. We have been very tardy in putting before the book-reading public good reproductions of man's most ancient art. Brodrick's *Prehistoric Painting* should be the first of many such collections of reproductions of the art of prehistoric and proto-historic times.

GLYN E. DANIEL

CORRESPONDENCE

The Bolas in South Africa. Cf. MAN, 1949, 9

94 SIR,—Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin's interesting commentary on the occurrences of bolas stones in South Africa calls for some elaboration. The many-faceted polyhedral forms to which he refers occur in comparative abundance in the earliest recognizable stage of the local Hand-Axe (Stellenbosch) or African

Chelles-Acheul Culture. In the next four stages of this culture they are not so common, but forms such as Leakey found with Acheul-type hand-axes at Olorgesailie in Kenya are known from many South African sites. In Kenya, Leakey found them in groups of three on living floors, and it was this provocative occurrence which led him to suggest that such faceted polyhedral stones as we find in the

Chelles-Acheul Culture were possibly bolas. Because they were so common on certain South Africa factory sites I had, until then, regarded them as hammer stones used in direct free-hand percussion for the final shaping of hand-axes, cleavers and scrapers which characterize the Chelles-Acheul Culture. The fact that ridges separating scar beds were so frequently battered and bruised, especially where three or four met at a high point, was strong supporting evidence in favour of the hammer-stone theory—despite the possibility that the battering and bruising might have been due to the maker's deliberate attempt to round off the stone for use in a bolas.

With the exception of the remarkable Fauresmith site at Healdtown in the Cape, faceted polyhedral stones are by no means common in this next culture in the sequence. At Healdtown, where they fluctuate about the size of tennis balls, they occur in abundance. Many have been so battered and bruised that they are practically spheroidal.

We thus see that faceted polyhedral stones occur throughout the Earlier Stone Age hand-axe cultures in South Africa. On some sites they are abundant, on others they are rare, and on many, possibly on the majority, they do not occur at all. This may be due to two factors: (1) if these faceted polyhedral stones were indeed throwing stones or bolas for use in the chase, one would naturally not expect to find them on all factory sites or living floors, and (2) the vast majority of known hand-axe sites are in the open where assemblages of artifacts are of necessity incomplete. Nevertheless, the fact remains that faceted polyhedral stones which vary from two to five inches (5 to 12.5 cm.) in greatest diameter occur throughout hand-axe times in South Africa. Large types—up to 12.5 cm. in diameter—are known only in the earlier stages of this culture. In the commonest sizes, as Goodwin indicates, the greatest diameter is generally from 5 to 7.5 cm.

So far as I am aware, we have only one convincing case of true bolas stones found in undoubted association with hand-axes in South Africa. I described and illustrated these in my contribution on 'Cave Breccias in the Makapan Valley' in the *Robert Broom Commemorative Volume* issued by the Royal Society of South Africa in 1948. These true bolas-type stones occur in the final phase of the local Chelles-Acheul (or Stellenbosch) Culture, the most outstanding technique of which is an almost exact parallel to the 'prepared platform' revealed in the Old Levallois Stages I and II of Western Europe.

In the Middle Stone Age, which succeeds the Earlier, and is characterized by the fully developed prepared-platform (Late Levallois) technique, many-faceted polyhedral stones are commonest in the Mazelspoort Culture of the Orange Free State and Natal. The type station yielded dozens. They occur also in the Pietersburg of the Transvaal and elsewhere. In this Age, the abraded and often rubbed spheroidal or true bolas-type stone becomes more common. It varies in size from a golf ball to a tennis ball, i.e. from about 3.5 to 5.5 cm. in diameter.

Goodwin records Dr. Leslie's discovery of a 'perfect sphere covered with minute peckings and crumbings' found in association with hand-axes in the gravels of the Vaal at Vereeniging. Although this 'association' was at first uncertain, the Makapan Cave occurrence has entirely dispelled whatever uncertainty may have existed. It should be noted that the Leslie Memorial Collection, which is now housed in the University of the Witwatersrand, also includes three artificially egg-shaped stones found together by him on the calcified Middle Stone Age horizon in the subsoil of the Vereeniging Town Lands. These specimens approximate in size and shape to large duck eggs and recall the specimens described by Dart and quoted by Goodwin, in that they have traces of slight grooves between the poles—as did Dart's Heilbron specimens. This Vereeniging trinity certainly suggests a bolas, despite the ovoidal instead of the normal spheroidal shapes of the individual stones.

One of the most interesting things about the bolas-type stone as it occurs in the Middle Stone Age in South Africa is that naturally rounded stones which are foreign to the site often occur on Middle Stone Age factory and living sites. We have naturally weathered spheres of dolerite on sites remote from outcrops of this rock; we have naturally shaped spheroidal concretions or balls of sandstone artificially transported to sites where sandstone does not occur, and we have spheroidal lumps of quartz, quartzite and diabase worn into this shape in river gravels and pot-holes, and carried up on to open sites on the banks of the rivers—sites often remote from the gravels. In the Makapan Caves we have naturally weathered spheres of dolerite that must have been transported for miles. These and similar occurrences provide clear proof that during the Middle Stone Age men needed and used these so-called bolas stones—both naturally and artificially rounded—but whether they used them as bolas or not, we cannot yet say. Excluding the unique and not quite normal Vereeniging occurrence, we have no site with such an arrangement of these stones as Leakey noted in Kenya.

In the Later Stone Age, with its Smithfield and Wilton Cultures, spheroidal bolas-type stones are extremely rare. They do not appear to be integral elements of these cultures.

In conclusion, I feel I should record a very unusual experience I had over a quarter of a century ago. While building a bridge over a small stream in a wide marsh-like depression on the road from Heilbron to Wolwehoek in the Orange Free State, I noticed two natives with some bolas stones. As there was no rock outcrop within miles of the site, I asked the natives where they had got the stones. Their reply was 'In the vlei,' i.e. in the marsh-like depression. Very rashly, as it turned out later, I offered them a reward for every bolas stone they could collect. My surprise and consternation may be imagined when I revisited the site a month later and found a large sackful of almost perfect spheres; there were literally scores of them. All the natives employed on the bridge had gone out to collect and all the stones had been recovered from ploughed fields around the marsh. All were smaller than tennis balls (circa 5.5 cm. in diameter) and while most were of a sandstone which outcropped in the district, several were of dolerite, one of cloudy quartz and one of granite, the nearest outcrop of which is over twenty miles away. I paid dearly for my offer, but reaped a reward which made it abundantly clear that these rounded stones were used in the chase when the marsh was very much more extensive and the reed growth more intensive than they are today—but as I could discover no site in the vicinity, I unfortunately still have no clue to the cultural horizon to which these Heilbron specimens belong. From occurrences in neighbouring areas and from the degree of patination of the few sporadic and nondescript flakes which were also brought to the surface during ploughing operations, I merely suspect the Middle Stone Age. The collection from this area was unfortunately destroyed in the calamitous fire at the University in December, 1931.

This additional note will, I hope, make it clear that faceted polyhedral stones, which may have been used as bolas stones, are known to have occurred in the Union from the first stage of the Hand-Axe or Chelles-Acheul Culture of Clacto-Abbevillian facies, which possibly existed toward the end of Lower Pleistocene times, to the Middle Stone Age, which flourished toward the end of the Upper Pleistocene. The artificially rounded stone is known to have been used in the final stage of the Chelles-Acheul Culture, which was possibly reached by man toward the end of the Middle Pleistocene, and to have remained in use to the end of the Middle Stone Age in Upper Pleistocene times. We have no certain evidence of its use during the Later Stone Age of Holocene times.

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SIR JOHN LINTON MYRES, O.B.E., D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A., F.S.A.

FOUNDER OF *MAN* AND ITS HON. EDITOR, 1901-3, 1931-46

Photograph taken in Summer, 1946



PAINTED DOOR AT RIYADH

To illustrate MAN, 1949, 97; the lock is seen near the top left corner of the central decorated square.

From a painting by Mrs. Violet Dickson

FOR SIR JOHN LINTON MYRES ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY: 3 JULY, 1949*

by

PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, F.R.S.

95 Among all the groups of students who can claim a link with Sir John, we of the Royal Anthropological Institute must surely be allowed to have a specially close association, not only because of all that he has done for the Institute and the studies it promotes, but because the Institute's ideals at their best are most nearly related to the guiding principle of all his work—namely the search for a fuller interpretation of man and of the evolution of his thought through the ages. Sir John has never been satisfied to consider only classical times or the periods for which written records exist. He has sought to dig back into the past, and, on occasion, to look across the present to the future. The most modern construction in the U.S.A., a mediæval abbey or an Anglo-Saxon brooch, a Greek pot or a Cretan building, a pyramid or an axe of polished stone, a cave painting or an early skull—all are seized upon by his eager eye, and his comments not seldom give fertile suggestions to specialist workers, as I well know from my own experience. A keynote to Sir John's life work as a scholar was sounded immediately after he took his first in *Lit. Hum.* in 1892 following an early career as a scholar of Winchester College and a scholar of New College, Oxford. He was awarded simultaneously the Craven Travelling Fellowship (1892-94) and the Burdett-Coutts Geological Scholarship (1892). The story goes that he had done much of the work for *Mods.* and *Lit. Hum.* before going to Oxford and that he therefore took the course in Geology simultaneously, in order to prepare himself for excavation work and for humanist interpretations of the peoples of various physical environments. Most people when offered alternatives—Arts or Science—choose one or other. It was as characteristic of Sir John when he was 23 as it is of him now he is 80 that without hesitation he said 'Both' and meant it most seriously and most practically.

We find him as Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, 1895-97; as Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at Oxford, 1903-07; as Honorary Secretary of our Institute, 1900-03; as Professor of Greek and, be it noted, Lecturer in Ancient Geography at the University of Liverpool, 1907-10; as first Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, 1910-39; as Honorary General Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1919-32; as Editor of 'MAN,' 1901-3, 1931-46, President of our Institute, 1928-31, and Huxley Memorial Medallist, 1933; as Gold Medallist of the Society of Antiquaries, 1942; as President of the Folk-Lore Society, 1924-26; of the Hellenic Society, 1935-38; of the British School at Athens, 1934-47, and for the same period Honorary General Secretary of the International Congress of Anthropological

* With a portrait, Plate I

and Ethnological Sciences. Indeed, this last item hardly gives the reader an adequate idea of the facts of the case. An unhappy attempt had been made to create what was called an International Congress for these studies by persons bursting with nationalistic enthusiasm. The gleam in Sir John's eye told us all that he scented a good fight for international ideals. The whole scheme for Congresses and their organization, and the major part of the hard work involved, have been his share in a movement so successful that it had a largely attended Congress in Brussels in 1948, a Congress at which Sir John's presence was sadly missed; but his spirit was behind it all, as much as it was at the preliminary meeting of the Council of the Congress held in Oxford in 1946. So, throughout a long life of scholarship and exposition it has been classical learning and scientific enquiry always hand in hand, pursued not only, indeed not so much, for their own sakes as for their contributions to a lofty humanism. It is characteristic that of the various universities which have invited him to be an honorary graduate some seem to have chosen for him the *Doctor in Literis* and some the *Doctor in Scientia*—and both were right. The little book called *The Dawn of History*, written during a holiday without reference to a library, the introduction to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the 1943 Frazer Lecture on *Mediterranean Culture* all bring out the unique combination of the student of the classics, of archaeology, of physical geography, of anthropology, of ancient and modern history, illuminated by and illuminating a working philosophy that has led Sir John to devote years to investigating the Cretan Script and to studying modern philosophy, with perhaps a special interest in the work of his friend and colleague the late Professor Collingwood.

It has been said that Sir John could be examiner in most subjects at a university, and here his record includes classical studies, history, geography, archaeology, anthropology and philosophy. Those who have worked with him in this field know his flair for discovering real quality and his refusal to mark down students of real quality for crudities due to youth or limitations of opportunity. The conventional students relying on lecture notes and following the over-trodden path found his unexpected questions a little disconcerting, but the real researcher who would turn the question back on the examiner was the delight of his soul. I remember one case of a *viva voce* in which the candidate came away in great distress after having found it impossible to agree with the examiner's statements. No sooner was the student out of the room than Sir John said 'Well, that was a clear first, anyhow!'

Teachers of geography in universities and in schools are very grateful for the thought and effort Sir John has given

to their problems over many years, sitting in committee with teachers over their difficulties, accompanying deputations to Ministries and Departmental Committees regardless of costs in time and thought. He has been President and Herbertson Memorial Lecturer of the Geographical Association and is still its Senior Trustee.

Of the Myres' homes on the Banbury Road, then on the hilltop, and lately in Oxford again, many friends and colleagues retain and renew when possible their memories of a mellow English tradition with pride in a background

of Preston and the Fylde. A life work mainly at Oxford has not made the north seem barbarian, but has rather inspired efforts to bring the realism of the north to invigorate what cannot be the 'home of lost causes' so long as it makes opportunities for enthusiastic enquirers and interpreters such as Sir John Linton Myres. To him and to Lady Myres—whose own eightieth birthday falls within a few days of his, on 8 July—we offer our congratulations and our homage, together with our heartfelt wishes for many happy returns yet of their birthdays.

TWO NUER RITUAL CONCEPTS*

by

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96 I draw attention in this article to two of the more important ritual concepts of the Nuer, *thek* and *nueer*, and I attempt to reach some understanding of them, for they are not only keys to Nuer religious thought but have a wider significance in a comparative study of Nilotic religions. When, as every fieldworker knows, we try to translate such words into the categories of our own thought we are beset by every kind of difficulty.

The word *thek* is frequently heard on Nuer lips. In its intransitive form it means 'to menstruate' and in its transitive form—the form with which I am here concerned—it has a sense which I have been in the habit of translating as 'to respect.' The word has a similar, but perhaps wider, range of meaning among the related Dinka.¹ Father J. Kiggen in his recently published *Nuer-English Dictionary* (1948, p. 309) gives it a variety of meanings: 'to esteem highly,' 'to revere,' 'to adore,' and in combination with the word *miedh*, 'to abstain from forbidden food.' He gives as examples of its usage: 'We always adore God,' 'Esteem your mother-in-law highly,' 'Hold the customs of the people in esteem,' 'Do not adore strange gods,' and 'He abstains from eating (may not eat) waterbuck flesh.' The meaning Father Kiggen gives to the intransitive form is 'to be on heat (of animals only).' Father J. P. Crazzolaria in his scholarly *Outlines of a Nuer Grammar* (1933, pp. 87f. and 160) translates the word *thek* by 'revere' and 'adore,' e.g. in the sentences 'If somebody wants to adore God, he will sacrifice something' and 'Some people revere the spear.' It must be remembered that neither Father Kiggen nor Father Crazzolaria were translating into their own language. In her vocabularies Miss Ray Huffman gives under *thek* 'to worship,' 'holiness,' 'hallowed' and 'holy,' and for the intransitive form 'to menstruate' (*Nuer-English Dictionary*, 1929, p. 47; *English-Nuer Dictionary*, 1931, p. 37).

These translations give for the most part a sense to the word that I have not met with myself and that furthermore seems to me to be foreign to Nuer ways of thought. In my

experience an untutored Nuer would not use the word *thek* in reference to God. That this is a missionary usage is further suggested by one of Father Kiggen's examples, for it is hardly likely that a pagan Nuer would say 'Do not adore strange gods.' Nor can I accept the Nuer sentence which Father Crazzolaria translates 'If somebody wants to adore God, he will sacrifice something' as a sentence which could be heard outside a mission station. Miss Huffman's 'holiness,' 'hallowed' and 'holy' are not, I think, possible constructions. In my opinion, moreover, 'to adore' and 'to worship' are false translations and I consider that even 'to revere' is too strong for the meaning of *thek*.

The Nuer use the word *thek* (*theak*) for the attitude and behaviour expected of a man towards his wife's father and mother and to a lesser extent her other kinsmen also. He expresses his 'respect' particularly by abstaining from eating in their homes and from appearing naked before them. His reserve in his dealings with his wife's people contrasts with his lack of it in his dealings with his own kin. A man does not 'respect' his kin. A woman 'respects' her husband's people, especially his parents. She is circumspect in her relations with them, avoiding the parents as far as is practicable. Until her first child is born she may not eat in the home of her husband's father and mother—that is to say, in her husband's home. Newly wedded husbands and wives 'respect' one another. In public each treats the other with marked reserve and they will not eat together, or even see each other eat or drink, till some time after their first child is born. Husband and wife also 'respect' each other's name by avoiding its use. Sweethearts display similar behaviour. They do not use each other's proper name in public, though they did so freely before they became lovers; and they refrain, especially the girl, from the usual joking and chaffing which takes place between youths and maidens when they chat together. A girl answers other youths tartly, but she is shy and modest towards her sweetheart, for there is a *thek* relationship between them. This is doubtless due to the fact that courtship of the more serious kind is a prelude to marriage.

Nuer 'respect with regard to food' unrelated persons

* Specially contributed to this issue in honour of Sir John Myres by the Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oxford

(*nei ti gwa*) of the opposite sex, especially if they are unmarried and possible sweethearts. They will not eat with them and they consider it shameful to see them, or to be seen by them, eating and drinking, and even that food should be mentioned when they are both present. The sexes, unless they are kin, avoid each other in the matter of food.

Another frequent occasion on which one hears the word *thek* is homicide. When a man is killed in Nuerland a state of feud exists between the kin of the slayer and the kin of the slain, and neither may eat or drink from vessels from which the other has eaten or drunk. They are said to 'respect' the vessels of the other party. Even to use the same vessels at the home of a third person who is in no way connected with the feud may entail the most serious consequences, so Nuer at feud take precautions to avoid contamination. Also, a man unconnected with a feud must avoid eating or drinking with a member of the one party, if there is any likelihood of his eating or drinking with a member of the other party, for by so doing he carries death with his mouth to the second person.

Another use of the word *thek*, which, as always, contains the idea of avoidance, is in reference to mortuary sacrifices. Members of a dead man's age set abstain from the meat of the cattle sacrificed in his honour at the ceremony held to close the period of mourning for him. They are said to 'respect' the meat. Another use is in connexion with the eldest child of a marriage, for the eldest child is said to 'respect' the spoons of his parents and the sleeping-hide of his mother in that he is careful not to eat with the first or sit on the second. The relations of this child with his parents are marked by a constraint, absent in those between other children and their parents, imposed by various prohibitions. A man is also said to 'respect' his as yet unconceived children by abstaining from congress with his wife when she is menstruating and while she is suckling an infant, for a child born of union in these forbidden periods is a child of misfortune. I must here point out that though in its intransitive form the verb *thek* means 'to menstruate,' a man is not said to 'respect' a menstruating woman. He honours (*luth*) the days of his wife's indisposition, but it is his future child that he is said to 'respect.' Another example of the use of the word *thek* is that a woman is said to 'respect' the milk of cows when she is in her periods; she may only drink goats' milk at this time. I believe also, though I have no reference in my notebooks to its use in this context, that Nuer would use the word *thek* to refer to the prohibition on men milking cows. Milking in Nuerland is done by women and boys and a man may not milk. It occasionally happens, however, that there are no women or boys present, and in these circumstances men may milk the cows on condition that each man gets another to milk his cows for him. Nuer believe that should a man milk his own cow and drink the milk the cow would die, and very likely the man as well.

One of the commonest uses of the word *thek* is in reference to totems. A man 'respects' his totem by refraining from harming it in any way (by killing or partaking of its flesh, if it is animal), and by cutting or burning it, if it is

vegetable); and by certain gestures of politeness should he meet it. The 'respect' is mutual and the totem animal should refrain from harming those who 'respect' it. Animals may have other obligations of the kind described by the word *thek*, e.g. certain birds must 'respect' the crowns of byres and huts by not perching on them. In the totemic context there are certain difficulties of interpretation, because the totemic species is a symbol of a spirit which participates in it, and although the Nuer can distinguish clearly between spirit and totem, they do not always do so, but speak of the animal or plant itself as the *kweth*, spirit. I do not wish to discuss this question here beyond saying that it can be stated with some certainty that when Nuer use the word *thek* it is the material thing they are thinking of, for it is only that, and not the spirit, which they can abstain from eating or otherwise harming. It is principally this abstention which they have in mind when they say that they 'respect' their totems.

The word *thek* has therefore in all the contexts of usage of which I am aware—there may, of course, be others of which I am unaware—a sense of deference, constraint, punctiliousness or shyness, or a mixture of one or more of these attitudes. It seems often to carry as part of its load of meaning a feeling of embarrassment which is entirely lacking in the ordinary behaviour of Nuer towards persons and nature. The behaviour associated with it is formalistic and includes always avoidance or abstention.

Failure to show due 'respect' where there is a *thek* relationship is more than a breach of decorum. It generally entails to a greater or lesser extent ritual sanctions. It is true that to eat in the home of a father-in-law or to be seen naked by a mother-in-law is chiefly regarded as a breach of good manners and that should there be nothing to excuse the disrespect it might cause divorce; but even here ritual sanction is not entirely absent, because it is believed that failure to 'respect' the parents-in-law may injure the children. Nuer say that were a man's nakedness to be seen often by his wife's parents his children might go blind. To watch an unrelated person of the opposite sex eat is perhaps the lack of 'respect' nearest to a simple breach of manners, but Nuer nevertheless give the impression of believing that some misfortune may follow from it. A breach of the other rules I have mentioned and the consequences of it are alike called by the Nuer *nueer*, with the verbal form of *nuer*. This word also occurs in Dinka.² Father Kiggen (p. 217) translates the Nuer word by 'sickness (swelling of neck) contracted by not having abstained from communication with murderer of one's relation.' For the verbal form he gives 'to have, or to bring the curse of *nueer*' and he cites the examples '*Ce nueer ke miedh*,' 'He contracted the curse of the *nueer* by eating,' i.e. with a kinsman of the murderer, and '*Caa nueer e raan me nagh demaar*,' 'I was infected with *nueer* disease by the murderer of my brother,' i.e. by being brought in some way into contact with him. Nuer also say that a man who slays another and does not at once, and before drinking, have incisions cut on his arm (the Nuer mark of Cain) will die of *nueer*. I fancy that Nuer would say that he 'respects' water (for drinking) till he is cleansed from the blood,

which, they say, 'paralyses his legs so that he cannot run.'

A breach of the other rules of *thek* is also likely to cause death, especially if the breach is wilful. Thus, if a man eats the flesh of his totem, or intentionally kills it, he will die; if he eats the flesh of an ox sacrificed at the mortuary ceremony of a man of his age set he will die; and if he milks his cows and drinks of the milk he will die. Likewise, if a woman drinks cow's milk in her periods she will kill the cow; and if she has sexual relations while she still suckles a child she will kill the child at her breast and bring misfortune to any child she may thereby conceive. In all these cases the Nuer use the word *nueer* to describe the breach of the taboo and for the death caused by the breach, and they use the verbal form *nuer* to describe the act of bringing death in this way. I was told that *nueer* is a sickness of the whole body which generally begins with violent vomiting, but probably any serious sickness following the breach of a *thek* taboo would be described as *nueer*. Sometimes the offender's life can be saved by timely treatment, and his recovery under treatment is thought to be likely if his action was unintentional. If a man inadvertently eats or drinks from vessels from which people at feud with him have eaten or drunk he drinks *wal nueerka*, an infusion of charred and powdered thiang's skin. Indeed, Nuer at feud often take this medicine as a prophylactic if they are going on a journey and run the risk of unwittingly breaking the taboo. When a feud is settled the leopard-skin chief ends the taboo by getting both parties to drink an infusion of bark of the *thep* tree, charred thiang's skin, charcoal and the gall of an ox sacrificed on this occasion and divided longitudinally between the parties. In the same way, a man who inadvertently eats of the flesh of his totem animal, or commits a breach of any other *thek* rule unintentionally, drinks medicines and performs sacrifices in the reasonable hope that he will not suffer serious consequences because he erred in ignorance.

The ritual attitude which the Nuer call *thek* is thus different from mere avoidance of doing things considered to be unbecoming. It usually has a ritual sanction added to

that of social opprobrium. Failure to conform to *thek* prohibitions involves the culprit in something more than *puc*, shame, and its counterpart *caany*, a word which has the general sense of 'to despise.' Any conspicuous breach of morality or decorum is shameful in Nuer eyes, as when a man steals or is rude to his father. It is shameful—to give another example—for a man, especially if he is unmarried and is courting girls, to eat birds or eggs. Only a *bar*, a poor man without cattle, would eat them. Others would *caany* them, refuse them as food, with the sense also of being disgusted at the idea of eating them and of despising them as food. I was frequently taunted by Nuer on this score: 'Are you not a man that you eat such little things?' Nuer also regard the eating of most wild fruits as contemptible and they think it both disgusting and shameful to eat carnivora, monkeys, zebras, most reptiles and all insects. The breach of a *thek* rule is also shameful and despicable, but it is at the same time to a greater or lesser degree sinful.

We can therefore perhaps best think of *thek* as a term indicating a category of ritual prohibition or taboo, and of *nueer* as a term commonly used both for the infringement and the sanction of this class of taboo. Not all Nuer taboos are called *thek*, but *thek* is their most important category of taboo, for, as we have seen, it arises out of basic social relations: of affinity, of marriage, of sex, of parenthood, of kinship (in relation to the feud), of generation, of the lineage (in relation to totemic affiliations) and so forth.

¹ Dr. J. C. Mitternutzner (*Die Dinka-Sprache in Central-Africa* 1866, p. 290) gives under *Tek* (*wtek*) 'fasten,' 'digiunare.' Father A. Nebel (*Dinka Dictionary with Abridged Grammar*, 1936, p. 158) gives under *Thek* 'to honour' ('onorare'), 'to be kind' ('essere cortese') and he cites the constructions *ran thek koc*, 'a kind person' ('persona gentile') and *thek mith*, 'to fast' ('digiunare'). 'To fast' is probably a mistranslation of the use of the word which has the sense of 'to abstain from (forbidden) food.' In a recent lecture to the Royal Anthropological Institute on Dinka Totemism Mr. Lienhardt translated the word as 'to respect.'

² Father Nebel, *op. cit.*, p. 119, gives for the Dinka word *nuer*: 'to destroy' ('distruggere') and 'to kill' ('uccidere'). For the word *nwar* he gives: 'to destroy' ('distruggere') and 'to pillage' ('saccheggiare').

ARTISTIC HOUSE-DECORATION IN RIYADH*

by

MRS. VIOLET DICKSON

Kuwait

97 Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, lies hidden among palm groves, snugly set in a depression among the dry, rocky surroundings. To the visitor and stranger, the houses look gloomy and mysterious from the outside, with their high mud walls on each side of the narrow winding streets, with only a plain wooden door

and no windows, except perhaps a few small barred ones in an upper storey of the houses of the well-to-do.

The interiors of the houses are, however, most artistically decorated: the wooden window shutters and doors are beautifully coloured in geometrical designs, and round the walls patterns are cut into the plaster in broad bands and circles, the hard light brown clay of which the houses are all built being allowed to show through.

The designs in the plaster (see figs. 1 and 2) are cut out by the master mason while it is still wet; quite often a broad band of brown mud wall is left between one pattern

* With Plate J and 2 text figures. This article, accepted for publication in *MAN* by Sir John Myres just before the outbreak of war in 1939, and unpublished till now owing to war-time financial stringency and the high cost of colour printing, is now published in compliment to Sir John and his special interest in this area

and the next. The lowest patterns commence about three feet from the ground and there are variations round the windows and the narrow shelves which are cut into the wall. Above these horizontal bands of pattern are large single circles, no two patterns of which are alike.

The wooden window shutters and the doors (see Plate J)

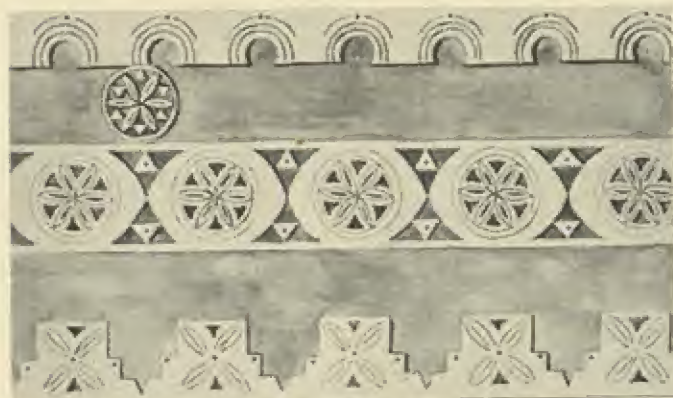


FIG. 1

PATTERNS CUT IN PLASTER EXPOSING THE BROWN MUD WALL IN A HOUSE AT RIYADH

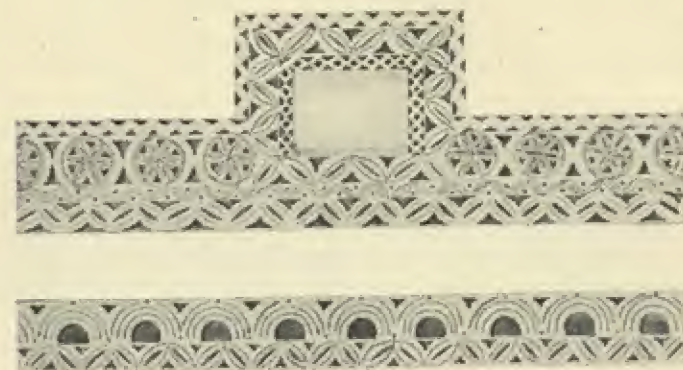


FIG. 2

are brilliantly coloured with red, black, blue, yellow, green and pink dyes. A raised wooden portion, usually in larger coloured squares, goes across the top and bottom of the door and sometimes across the centre of the larger ones; otherwise they are flat, except for a slight groove which has been marked by some sharp instrument in tracing out the design. Here again no two doors or windows have the same pattern. The brightest colours and designs are on the outside of the doors and windows (which all open inwards), but they all have some simpler design on the inside. Each door has its lock and a wooden key somewhat resembling a toothbrush with wooden pegs, which is inserted sideways into the lock and pushes up a similar number of pegs thus releasing the latch.¹

In the larger rooms the ceilings are covered in white cotton cloth on to which are sewn coloured silks in various designs.

The illustrations were done from drawings made on the spot.

Note

¹ One such lock may be seen at the left hand side of Plate J near the top. Additional drawings supplied by Mrs. Dickson, but not published here, make it clear that these locks are in principle the same as those from other parts of the Moslem world, though differently decorated. A well-known adaptation of the type by a pagan tribe in contact with Moslems is the lock, decorated with sculptured human figures, employed by the Dogon or Habbe tribe of the French Sudan south of Timbuctu to secure their granary doors.—Ed.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Sir John Myres and MAN

98 This special issue of MAN is offered by the Royal Anthropological Institute to Sir John Myres, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, as a small and inadequate token of gratitude, admiration and affection. We are grateful to him not only for founding and long editing MAN itself, and for all his tangible services to the Institute, but for all that he has been, and still is, in the world of anthropology and the world at large.

In this issue are presented a number of articles which have some special relation to Sir John's work and interests, besides several pieces from his own pen, which may remind us that he has enriched anthropological literature not only by the incomparable English of his own writings, but also by the incalculable influence of his style on his contemporaries through half a century. The occasion has been taken, in compliment to Sir John, to publish a

colour plate for the first time since before the war; the cost of colour reproduction (in this case ten times that of an ordinary half-tone block of the same size) has in the past ten years been regarded as prohibitive, and must be rarely incurred even at the best of times.

Such changes in the outward appearance of MAN as may have been noticed since Sir John retired from the editorship in late 1946 have not, it is hoped, impaired the essential character which he, above all others, has given it; this, in the fervent belief of his successor as Honorary Editor, should be cherished by the Institute as a permanent model for the future. It may be placed on record here that after exhaustive consideration the Council of the Institute has recently reaffirmed as its permanent policy that MAN should continue to be published as a monthly, and has thus ensured that it shall retain its unique position in the anthropological

world, its function, as a vehicle for brief articles and interim reports, clearly distinguished from that of the Institute's *Journal*. The superficial modifications of dress and typography have been due to the belief that, in the greater recognition now being accorded to anthropology (thanks greatly to Sir John's own efforts and influence), a wider audience might now be cultivated, without compromise of editorial policy, for a publication which seeks to embody Sir John's own universal approach to all human things. May his successors long enjoy his often sought guidance and his always welcome contributions!—ED.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

99 Among the recommendations passed last year by the Scientific Information Conference convened by the Royal Society was one calling on scientific periodicals in general to arrange for the publication in advance elsewhere of lists of papers accepted for their future issues. The Hon. Editors of the *Journal* and of *MAN* have now agreed that lists of papers to be included in each forthcoming issue of the *Journal* should be published in *MAN* as soon as they have been approved by the Council of the Institute on the recommendation of the Hon. Editor.

Volume LXXV of the *J.R.A.I.* will doubtless have reached Fellows before this issue of *MAN*. This is the last volume to be edited by Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, and the Council has placed on record its very deep appreciation of her great services, at

much personal sacrifice, as Hon. Editor of Vols. LXVIII-LXXV, through eleven years of exceptional difficulty both for the Institute and for herself; in face of the technical obstacles raised by the war, she has upheld, and even raised, the high standards of *Journal* editing in a way that would not have been possible if punctuality of issue had been regarded as indispensable.

Volume LXXVI, Part 1, the first to be edited by Dr. M. Fortes, is in the final stage of production and contains the following papers:

'The Institute and its Development,' by Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., F.R.S.

'West Africa and Indonesia: A Problem in Distribution,' by Professor J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc.

'Boats and Fishing on the Cocos Keeling Islands,' by C. A. Gibson-Hill, M.A., M.R.C.S.

'Shamanism in the Nuba Mountains,' by S. F. Nadel, M.A., Ph.D.

'Some Notes on Foods and Dietetics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' by L. F. Newman, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.I.C.

'A First Study of the Blood Groups among some Inhabitants of West Yunnan,' by Sidney C. Hsiao assisted by An-chi Wong.

'The Magosian Culture of Khami, near Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia,' by Neville Jones and R. F. H. Summers.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 1946; Reports of the Council and of the Honorary Treasurer; the Wellcome Medal for Anthropological Research.

SHORTER NOTES

Slavia Antiqua: A Journal devoted to Slavonic Antiquities.

Vol. I. Poznań, 1948. Pp. 600 with many figures. Price 1200 zloty

100 This is the beginning of a new journal and also a complimentary volume for Józef Kostrzewski, Professor of Archaeology at Poznań. The editor (Witold Hensel) gives an interesting account of Kostrzewski's work during 35 years and his bibliography since 1945. It is illustrated with diagrams presenting different views very clearly.

The archaeology of East Central Europe is very important and very difficult for us to study: violently opposed views are stated as received facts, but largely dictated by political and racial prejudices; distribution maps show no names, but a labyrinth of to us unfamiliar rivers with rarely a bit of coastline or mountains by which to get our bearings; also atlases rarely give the names of the old Polish provinces, which are constantly referred to.¹ Then there is the language trouble: I have not found J. W. Niemann's *Polskisch-deutsches Fachwörterbuch f. d. Vorgesch.* much help. In our volume the welcome summaries, in French or English, are not quite full enough: of the 27 articles, 16 are in Polish, 7 in Czech, one in Slovak and 3 in French. The questions discussed are mostly, what cultures represent the Indo-Europeans, which the Slavo-Balts, which the unseparated Slavs. So we begin with the cordware folk: T. Reyman declares that his dig at Rosiejów, just north of Lublin, shows that they were peaceably succeeded by the Trzciniec' people (pron. Tchtsyinyech), the predecessors of the (Bronze II) Lausitz people in the Vistula valley, to which they had spread eastwards from the Oder (more of this from Jazdzewski, pp. 94ff.). The Lausitz people are taken to be the Slavo-Balts. T. Sulimirski offers the interesting suggestion that their culture perished because of Scythian raids c. 500 B.C. making them too weak to resist encroachment of the Face-Urn or Pomeranian people. J. Filip traces the Lausitz people in La Tène times. Eastern influences detached from the Lausitzers the Wysocko culture, and some think this belongs to the Slavs, although its area does not appear sufficiently extensive: we used

to be told that the Slavs developed in the Pripiet marshes, an even narrower home. The Posen school of Poles maintains that the Slavs were formed in the whole basin of the Vistula and the region along the north-eastern slopes of the Carpathians. Antoniewicz at Warsaw is not so definite; he has, by the way, dedicated the latest volume of his journal *S'wiatowit* to Kostrzewski; the Germans, e.g. Hirt, push the Slavs to the east and leave a gap between them and the Kelts; the Russians (e.g. Tretyakov) find them on the Upper Volga and Oka already in 1000 B.C. I have always thought the Neuri of Herodotus on the upper Dnepr might be Slavs. Here (pp. 261-268) T. Lehr-Splawin'ski thinks the Lugii north of the Carpathians would be Slavs; they have generally been reckoned as Germans, perhaps Vandals, save in Dr. Smith's Dictionary 100 years ago. R. Jamka thinks them Slavs and identifies them with the Przeworsk culture (Przeworsk is just north of Przemyśl), whereas the Oksywie culture on the Baltic was that of the Venedi. I feel that 'Venedi' always meant, as now, 'Wends,' Slavs anywhere under German rule. The final stage of Slavonic Unity, sixth century B.C. to sixth century A.D., is stretched by G. Labuda (pp. 179-227) from the Dniestr to the Baltic. Jan Czekanowski explains the impressive rise of the Polish state under the Piasts in the ninth century by the previous existence of a Lech state in the same region. This name given to the Poles by Russians (Lyakh), Lithuanians (Leikas), Magyars (Lengyel) must have contained a nasal and suggests to him the Celtic Lingones. J. Poulik declares that the Avars had little influence on the Moravians, a contrast to Peisker in the *Camb. Med. Hist.* E. Šimek discusses the origin of the Czech state, how four or five tribes, giving way in the sixth and seventh centuries before the Avars, moved into Bohemia from beyond the Carpathians, but it was the Czech tribe which because of its central position came out on top.

The historic Slavs (say A.D. 500-1000) made great strongholds (*Burgwall, Hradiště*); P. Neustupny' dates them in Polabia in the fifth to seventh centuries by pots showing Merovingian influence. R. Turek dates later ones by coins in A.D. 950-1100, some coins

copied from our Ethelred's. Ornaments from the same period in Slovakia are treated of in Slovák by L. Krakovská. R. Jakimowicz discusses the account of the Slavs given by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb (ap. Al-Bekrī) in A.D. 963, and J. Borkovsky' a cemetery of foreign merchants in Prag (ninth to eleventh century). J. Otrębski suggests that the word *kníec*, Russian *kmet'*, a standing puzzle for Slavists, is really two words, one derived from Latin *comes* (=a lord of some sort), another a native Slav word (=peasant).

The three French articles are very unlike each other: Professor Childe gives an outline of our Bronze Age to help date the stray bronzes from Britain found in Poland and surrounding countries, and thereby the things found with them: the Late Bronze Age is for him 1300±50 B.C. Dr. Holger Arbman of Lund establishes that there was a trade route from Southern Russia by Gniezno to Sigtuna in the ninth to eleventh centuries. Another Scandinavian connexion, also eleventh century, is in A. Rajewski's folding-sickle hafts; one of these is in the London Guildhall Museum.

Perhaps the oddest contribution is Dr. T. J. Arne's; he suggests that the Englishman Osmund, of whom Adam of Bremen says that having been consecrated in Polonia he became an unauthorized (*acephalus*) archbishop in Sweden, was really consecrated in the land of the Russian Polyane, i.e. round Kiev, as an Archbishop of the Eastern Church, and fell into disrepute after the Schism of 1054. Osmund died a monk of Ely.

The latest discussion of the Slavs and their divergence is in W. J. Entwistle and W. A. Morison, *Russian and the Slavonic Languages*, but it takes little account of archaeology.

ELLIS H. MINNS

Note

¹ Mazovia in the middle round Warsaw, Cujavia north-west of it up to Danzig, Great Poland still farther west in Pomerania, Little

Poland to the south of Mazovia with Silesia west of it and Galicia south-east of it along the Carpathians. On the east from south to north: Pokucie between the Dneter and the Zbrucz, above it Podolia, then Volhynia, above this Polesie, the basin of the Pripet, north-west of this Podlasie about Bialystok, and so to East Prussia. Of course, the eastern belt is now in U.S.S.R.

A New Bulgarian Archaeological Publication. *Razkopki i Prouzvaniya* (Fouilles et Recherches), No. 1. Travaux des Sections préhistorique et antique. Narodni Arkheologicheski Muzej, Sofia, 1948

IOI This is the first number of a new series of publications (*Izdaniya*) of the Bulgarian National Museum, and deserves mention not only because it is the first publication received from Bulgaria since the war, but also because of the exceptional interest of the material it contains. In particular, the excavations at Mikhlich, near Svilengrad, described by Mikov (pp. 7-25), have produced for the first time in the Central Balkan valley material—'anchor ornaments,' crested handles, bowls with trumpet lugs rising from the intumed rim, jugs with cut-away necks—already long familiar from the Aegean coasts of Macedonia, from Thermi on Lesbos and from even farther afield, and so has at last established for the interior of Thrace unambiguous links with the Early Aegean Bronze Age cycle of cultures. Even in north-west Bulgaria the site of Krivodol, described on pp. 26-62, has now yielded pottery that links on with the same Early Aegean cycle on the one hand and with Central European cultures like Bodrogkeresztur and Jordansmühl on the other. The Bulgarian text of all articles is accompanied by adequate French *résumés*, and the 106 figures are as good as those in most French publications, though not up to British or Scandinavian standards.

V. G. CHILDE

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Notes towards the Definition of Culture. By T. S. Eliot. London (Faber), 1948. Pp. 124. Price 10s. 6d.

IO2 A Russian professor of history was ordered to lecture on the Russian constitution. He replied that he had not discovered it, and was given unlimited leave of absence, on the ground that all very great and magnificent objects had to be studied a long way off. Without commending any so drastic treatment, one may feel that, for all his studies, Mr. Eliot has not completely explained what, in his view, 'culture' is. He refers, in passing, to the 'anthropologist's view' of culture—which is various enough—and comes fairly close to some aspects of it; for instance, the views of Keith, Hershkovits and Kluckhohn in recent publications; but he is more concerned with the conditions for culture than for its content or its definition.

He distinguishes between the culture of an individual, of the society in which he lives, and of the smaller group within the society with other members of which he is in direct personal relations, from the family to the 'class.' No one can create a 'culture'; it is a growth or mode of life, always accommodating itself to events and circumstances. No one can deliberately alter it, though everyone's activities contribute to its changing qualities. How these changes are effected is the further question to which Mr. Eliot devotes most of his study. Only very rarely does an individual reach the pinnacle of power and influence, from which he can be said to direct the course of culture. But everyone modifies his own circumstances and neighbourhood (in the human sense), usually in conjunction with his neighbour's efforts or reactions under the same conditions. These similarities characterize 'classes' within the society; and the effects of these class changes are appreciable, and contribute to the 'culture' of the whole.

But again not directly. Throughout, Mr. Eliot emphasizes the

existence and the functions of what he calls an 'élite' consisting not merely of the most typical or most influential members of each group or 'class,' but of those who are most in accord with the qualities and tendencies of the 'culture' of the whole society. They are not strictly speaking 'elected,' for they have neither patrons nor constituents, neither deliberations nor executive functions; they exercise rather what Aristotle called the 'undefined initiative' or 'authority' which is expressed in public opinion than electoral majorities or referenda. The élite, that is, would be better represented by the membership of the Athenæum than of the Carlton or National Liberal Club, or of the Royal Society.

It is this informal, almost undefinable 'élite' which Mr. Eliot seems to regard as the vehicle of 'culture' in his sense of the word. Every member of it has, in addition to his links with other members, an infinite range of cultural links with members of his own class, and with higher and lower classes, senior and junior generations and so forth.

More especially is Mr. Eliot concerned with the relations between the élite and the various representatives of regions and cults within the society, and this brings him to a further stipulation. If the 'culture' is to be healthy, and the 'élite' effective in maintaining and moulding it, there must be internal differences, ever impinging on social or local or confessional varieties, challenging discussion and examination of divergencies, and reformulating conventions and traditions. Presumably the same processes would be perceptible at all levels, and distances from the centre of power. Anything which interrupted them would risk converting a 'class' into a 'caste' limited by birthright, or inherited wealth or traditional creed.

This inevitably leads to the relation between culture and politics, and consequently between the élite and political leaders. The latter would normally be members of the cultural 'élite,' and wholesome

counter-irritants to keep culture lively; but only in so far as political ideas and trends are elements in general culture, and compatible with other such.

It remains, obviously, to consider how 'culture' is transmitted, and the 'élite' rejuvenated; and this means the problem of education. Like the culture itself, is it to be conservative or revolutionary, and how is the course of 'culture' to be shaped?

In an appendix Mr. Eliot reprints lectures given in Germany on the 'Unity of European Culture,' which illustrate his ideas in practice, with regional and national cultures contributing to the formation of a culture for Europe as a whole, or for larger aggregates still.

As unconscious commentary on much recent anthropological writing this wise and helpful essay will be widely welcome.

JOHN L. MYRES

Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life. By Clyde Kluckhohn. New York and Toronto (McGraw-Hill), 1948. Pp. xiv, 314. Price \$3.75

103 This admirable book was awarded a \$10,000 prize for its contribution to man's understanding of the world today, and it is certainly an outstanding statement of the function and services of anthropology. Simply and forcibly written, with frequent illustrations from current problems to which anthropologists have contributed, it surveys the whole field of human sciences, and distinguishes clearly what parts of it are properly described as anthropological. The conventional divisions of the subject matter are presented under the catch-titles of 'Queer Customs,' 'Potsherds' and 'Skulls,' with illustrations of the problems, methods and established results of each; and of the practical value of such enquiries in modern societies, drawn from Dr. Kluckhohn's wide experience of fieldwork and social surveys. He insists emphatically that anthropologists are concerned with every kind of culture, including their own. 'Culture is like a map. . . . If a map is accurate, you can read it; if you know a culture, you will know your way around the life of a society' (p. 28).

Deeper matters are reached in the chapter on 'Race: a Modern Myth.' The existence of races is admitted; the question is, what is their meaning and function? Modern views on 'race' result from the biological advances in the last century: the reactions against race theories, from the further advances since Mendel's work was appreciated and new problems were set by 'blood groups.' There are admittedly also local physical types, but they are neither persistent nor significant. 'Hybrid vigour' is as important among humans as among other animals (p. 128), and arbitrary racial classifications have exceedingly limited scientific utility. Economic conditions are stimulants to race prejudice rather than causes of it. Both Christianity and Islam preach the unity and equality of mankind; but their practical attitude to race questions is quite different. At the root of prejudice is fear. Here the anthropologist can make practical suggestions, for he knows how to discover the real leaders in conflicting groups, and the real motives underlying grievances and dislikes, and how to disseminate the 'icy facts' of his science.

'The Gift of Tongues' (ch. vi) analyses the function of language in promoting or obstructing intercourse. Many languages have to be learned by the anthropologist by the 'direct method' because he has neither grammar nor dictionary; and this facility was of great utility in the world wars: for 'language is as consistently non-rational as any aspect of culture' (p. 149), full of functionless survivals. Their idioms have to be related to other facts of behaviour. But 'a language is in a sense a philosophy.'

The short chapter on 'Anthropologists at Work' traces the development of research techniques, with some striking illustrations of anthropological problems in recent years and war conditions. The 'Golden Rule' itself may have to be rudely revised: what is essential, here too, is knowledge of the facts in each case.

Under 'Personality in Culture' the fundamental point is elaborated that a culture is nothing abstract, but simply the way in which certain people behave; and the reasons for this behaviour may be detected scientifically, and modified by training, especially in childhood. How this is done differs in every culture, and there are no short cuts in education, even through modern applied psychology. This chapter is full of wise sayings and home truths.

Finally 'An Anthropologist looks at the United States,' and at 'the World,' with wise, gentle, humorous eyes, and applies his skill and experience at many points; leaving no doubt that anthropology has become, in living memory, an adult science with wide and intimate contacts with daily life; indeed a 'Mirror for Man.'

JOHN L. MYRES

The Universe in the Making: A Biochemical Approach.

By J. E. R. McDonagh, F.R.C.S. London (Chatterton), 1948. Pp. x, 174

104 Long study of disease has convinced the author that protein is the most important product that has ever been generated, and much of the book is concerned with his investigations. The 'Whole' or 'Activity,' which is his name for the universe, has 'sub-atomic,' 'atomic,' crystalline, colloid, vegetable, animal and a final human cycle. There are two types of man, 'radiator' and 'attractor,' which met in Asia Minor and caused civilization: man is now conscious that he is part of the 'Whole,' not one with it. This theory has been developed in the author's other works, and in another still to come; together with the consequent anthropology and political philosophy, for which this book itself must be consulted. The chemical formulae in the appendix need a clear head.

JOHN L. MYRES

Our Plundered Planet. By Fairfield Osborn. London (Faber), 1948. Pp. 192. Price 10s. 6d.

105 Dedicated 'to all who care about tomorrow,' this little book is a powerful statement of the many human activities which have so long been making the earth less fit for full human habitation, and an appeal for reasoned effort to control and repair these ravages. It begins from the fundamental question of 'Man's Place in Nature,' as one among many natural species, which otherwise seem to share their natural habitat without misuse, killing only for food, and so forth. Here the author finds a kind of rudimentary morality in the Laws of Nature under which all live. But he emphasizes man's unique ability to modify both himself and his surroundings, his protectorate over domesticated animals and cultivated plants. On the other hand, he presents man as a large-scale geological force, in the natural agencies which he has been able to release, often unconsciously; with the same limitation as other geological forces, that though he can destroy life, he cannot create it. In particular, he cannot even create soil, the primary condition for land life; but must use soil where he can find it, and refrain from 'killing' it by misuse. A striking example is the stud farm where the horses degenerated because there were no earthworms.

Soil, then, is the central problem, and the waste of soil is analysed into its main factors, and traced through the ages and the continents. Collateral wastage of animal life is discussed where it occurs, in Africa and on the American prairie.

Striking examples are given of soil-rescue already effected or planned, and a final sketch of public action in the United States since attention was called to the dangers.

This book should be read widely, and placed in reading rooms and school libraries. For every little helps, and what is needed is a public sense of responsibility for living in accordance with Nature, not in conflict.

JOHN L. MYRES

Acclimatization in the Andes. By Carlos Monge; translated by D. F. Brown, with Introduction by Isaiah Bowman, Baltimore (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press); London (G. Cumberlege), 1948. Pp. xx, 130. Price 15s.

106 Here is another application of anthropology to public affairs, following up an old clue which should never have been ignored. In a region of abrupt contrasts of altitude, the old Inca rulers were careful, in shifting their conquered peoples, not to change their climate; and the first Spaniards observed the same rule. But when the link with Spain was broken, the South American republics, in their thoughtless scramble for metals, ignored that precaution, and incurred heavy losses of native labour and disastrous defeats in their aggressive wars. Armies which were valiant at home fell to pieces and disappeared as invaders, either uphill or down.

Only in the present generation has Dr. Carlos Monge, who is Director of the Institute of Andean Biology, Lima, organized historical and physiological research, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Peruvian University of San Marcos at Lima. Three laboratories, one near the coast, the others at 1,100 feet and 14,800 feet, investigate both human reactions and those of domestic animals, and have already made real progress. There are some curious side issues. The Incas knew the value of athletic training in acclimatization, especially running, to exercise the lungs. Another curious effect is the sterility due to high altitude: it took 53 years before the Spaniards reared a child in the highland; unfortunately, they credited it to St. Nicholas, in spite of subsequent failures. In this matter cross-breeding has well-marked results: but the Negro is not acclimatizable. If the South American states could learn from the administration and warfare of the Incas, they might combine security with prosperity. JOHN L. MYRES

How Greek Science passed to the Arabs. By de Lacy O'Leary. London (Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. vi, 196. Price 15s.

107 This is a fully informed summary of a long and complicated period of history, from the incorporation of the Hellenistic kingdoms into the Roman Empire to the resumption of intercourse with Western Asia through the Crusades. It traces back the successive aggressors on Europe's eastern approaches to their far Asiatic homes, and their respective conflicts both with the Arab Caliphs and with their Parthian and Persian predecessors. And it unravels the tangled controversies between the more eastern Christian Churches and the 'Orthodox' Church of Byzantium.

For the transmission of Greek science was neither direct for the most part nor along one track only. There were Christian communities as far east as the Roman frontiers, and these were often left behind when the armies were withdrawn after defeat. Others, more heretical, were expelled from the Empire, and even invited by the national enemy. And preachers or philosophers sought peace or patronage where they could. These different circumstances affected the arts and sciences variously, and the contact was therefore closer in some fields than in others. Science, philosophy, mathematics and medicine are examples. Almost all Christian sects had a common Hellenistic grounding, but not far inland the Greek language gave place to the 'Syriac' dialect of Edessa, which had the eventual advantage of a certain resemblance to Arabic. Farther east again, Syriac as a learned language gave place to Persian 'Pahlevi' in the courts of the states which the Arabs overthrew. Separate avenues of intercourse are illustrated by the 'Nestorian' and 'Monophysite' Churches, and to these might be added the Armenian. Both the sea route to India and the land route through Parthia and Bactria fed a quite different focus of Hellenic culture in India itself, which pro-

foundly influenced Persia more than once, and resulted in a remarkable contribution of Indian mathematics and astronomy from the east. A negative factor was the westward spread of Buddhism, which checked both Christianity and Islam and contributed something of its own. On the other hand, successive Mongol invaders thrust back sedentary populations with all degrees of western influence in their culture, on to the margins of the new Islamic world.

Here there have to be distinguished the early Caliphate of Damascus under strongly Christian and Syriac influences, and the Abbasid foundation of Baghdad, which became the focus of a mixed culture ranging from Egypt to India and Merv.

A separate enquiry concerns the actual propagation of Hellenic teaching by translations, and the acceptance, more or less automatic, of Greek philosophy by Arab teachers.

This very wide range of topics is surveyed with copious information and a general background of historical learning which sometimes permits serious digressions. There is a useful bibliography, and at the end are appendices on special topics; but there are practically no footnotes and few references; so the book may be found difficult by beginners. A good many of the minor figures might have been suppressed without loss of clarity.

There are unfortunately some tiresome misprints. A general scheme of chronology would have been useful.

JOHN L. MYRES

The Earth's Face: Landscape and its Relation to the Health of the Soil. By Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, with Introduction by Sir R. George Stapledon, London (Faber), 1948. Pp. 138, with 60 photographs. Price 12s. 6d.

108 This is a valuable introduction to soil conservation, by an experienced farmer and forester. If Man is the most destructive of Earth's parasites, there is the more need to study his disastrous practices scientifically with a view to amendment. The subject is treated according to types of landscape and in relation to the normal exploitation of each and the consequent 'soil-sicknesses' which result. Sir George Stapledon introduces the author and his outlook with knowledge and sympathy and commends the book especially to young people still susceptible to the interest and charm of landscape, and intent on making the most of their own countryside. The Problems of the Plain, of the Mountains and of the Woods lead on to those of Urban Civilization and Industry in relation to landscape; to Park and Garden, and to the revival of Landscape Consciousness among Urban and Rural Population alike.

The photographs are numerous and well chosen to illustrate the problems and remedies in the text, and there are a serviceable bibliography and index. A brief 'reader's guide' begins thus: 'If you are in a tremendous hurry, just look at the pictures.'

JOHN L. MYRES

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale (III^e et II^e Millénaires). By Claude F. A. Schaeffer. O.U.P., 1948. Pp. xiii, 631, with illustrations and maps. Price 4 guineas.

109 The number of reports on archaeological research on many sites of the ancient world is steadily increasing and our knowledge of its civilization considerably widening. But the differences in appreciation of several strata and the use of divergent chronological systems by individual authors are making it a very difficult task—especially for students specializing in the archaeology of prehistoric Europe—to adapt all these splendid results to their own investigations. This is why Dr. Schaeffer's imposing book will be warmly welcomed by all archaeologists and students of ancient history. It gives a very clear review of all the main problems and a synthesis of the archaeology of Western Asia—except Mesopotamia—of the third and second millennia B.C., illustrated by some 400 plates and several chronological tables.

The starting point of Dr. Schaeffer's work is his own observations at Ras Shamra, the ancient Ugarit, excavated by the author himself.

This site in Northern Syria was one of the most important in ancient Asia. Several cultural currents overlapped here and left traces which now provide a sound basis for a study of comparative chronology. But by far the most important result of Dr. Schaeffer's minute observations was the establishing of stratigraphic evidence of six events of the utmost importance in the history of ancient Ugarit; they very strongly affected its development and were simultaneously felt in the whole of the ancient Middle East, being the main cause of the sudden breakdown of some flourishing centres and the rise of others. According to Dr. Schaeffer, archaeological evidences of these events can be traced in all other sites of Western Asia and correlated with one another. Thus they form six chronological horizons which the author uses as the framework for a proper chronology. Among these events are two earthquakes of such violence that, besides Ugarit, several other ancient towns within a very large radius succumbed to them; one of them took place at the end of the second millennium B.C., the other around 1365 B.C. Vigorous movements of barbaric peoples, like Hyksos, were other events, and the invasion of the 'Peoples of the North and

of the Sea' in the period about 1250-1225 B.C. was the last one, resulting in the downfall of the brilliant Late Bronze Age Civilization of the ancient Middle East.

An attempt to correlate the strata of other Western Asiatic sites with those of Ras Shamra led Dr. Schaeffer to make a general revision of their present chronology. In reviewing all the more important sites of Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Persia and the Caucasus, he very thoroughly verified the dating of all their strata, and almost none of them escaped corrections. Some of the proposed redatings go quite far. The lowest level of Tepe Gawra should be dated 2300-2100 B.C. instead of 3000-2500 B.C. Dr. Schaeffer rehabilitates the Third Town of Troia and considers it to have been a brilliant town which was destroyed by a very violent earthquake about 2000 B.C. He also ascribes to this town all the known treasures, the famous Treasure of Priamos included, dating them 2300-2000 B.C. The Royal Tombs of Alaca Hüyük are assigned to the same period, and not to the Copper Age as hitherto accepted. The first occurrence of the Red Polished Ware in Cyprus has been shifted back to the period 2200-1800 B.C. A detailed study of the archaeological material of Russian and Persian Talyche allowed the author to divide them into several chronological groups established in concordance with the chronological sequence at Ras Shamra. He similarly classified the Luristan bronzes. The 'Royal' tumuli of Northern Caucasus, the Maikop tumulus included, are dated 2200-2000 B.C. on the basis of similarity of their inventories with the remains of Syria and Asia Minor. Dealing with the cultures of the Northern Caucasus, the author has confused the name of the Kuban Culture with that of the Koban Culture, calling them both 'Culture de Kouban.' The first, which developed in the north-western Caucasus, and to which the Maikop and other 'Royal' tumuli belong, took its name from the river Kuban. The other derives its name from a very large cemetery at Koban in central north Caucasus. According to the latest Russian investigations the Koban culture survived into the first millennium B.C. and can be traced even up to the Scythian period.

The work of Dr. Schaeffer, which touches on so many problems and proposes so many changes in the dating of several sites, will undoubtedly evoke lively discussion, in which the authors affected by those changes will defend their point of view. But even if several corrections might finally be introduced to the correlations established by Dr. Schaeffer, and some of his datings altered, they will not diminish the permanent value of his book. This is a manual of outstanding importance and indispensable for all serious students of archaeology for many years to come.

T. SULIMIRSKI

Ancient India, No. 4. Double number, July, 1947-January, 1948.

Archaeological Survey of India. Pp. 321, 129 plates. Price Rs. 4 or 6s.

IIO The publication *Ancient India*, of which four numbers have been issued, renders inexcusable that lack of interest that has hitherto obtained concerning India's past. In the first three numbers articles appeared giving the most up-to-date information on the chronology of prehistoric North-West India (No. 1) and Stone Age India (No. 3), also the excavation report on Arikamedu, an Indo-Roman trading station, most important as linking certain South Indian wares with imported Attic pottery and providing a secure dating (No. 2), and the report on the Harappa excavations of 1946, which revealed the fortified citadel dominating that town and led to the discovery of a similar citadel at Mohenjo-daro, thus controverting completely the idea that the Harappa Culture was a socialist-pacifist state differing from any of its contemporaries (No. 3).

Ancient India, No. 4 is a worthy successor. Introductory notes by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler touch upon the problems arising out of partition and the part that the vast area of the sub-continent has played in its history—'the triumph of sheer acreage over the puny efforts of man.' These are followed by an extremely valuable article on megaliths by Professor Gordon Childe, in which he shows these structures in their true world perspective, stresses the complexity of the study of megaliths and warns one against generalizations and simplifications which can be produced only by ignoring a great part of the evidence.

'The Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka' by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti is a study in which he examines the fluctuations of Mauryan influence in the Tamil country, the location of Andhra territory at the time of Asoka and the purpose and sequence of the minor rock and pillar edicts. He shows that, although the Maski edict is the only one that mentions him by name, all the edicts and the erection of the pillars themselves were the work of Asoka. Professor Stuart Piggott, in 'Notes on Certain Metal Pins and a Macehead in the Harappa Culture,' brings out very successfully the chronological implications of double and single spiral and animal-headed pins from the main Indus sites. His stratification diagram of Mohenjo-daro gives us badly needed information and emphasizes the strange stratigraphic nomenclature of the excavators which has bewildered everyone. The identification of a bronze object from Chanhudaro as a macehead, with (now) obvious parallels, is valuable dating evidence.

Though, in the continued absence of Sir John Marshall's monograph on Taxila, the results obtained at Sirkap in 1944 are put forward as provisional, they give the first detailed stratigraphic section and the first profile and section corpus of pottery from that site. The terracotta figurines are interesting; deterioration in technique, which is marked by flattening and poor or absent face moulds, shows the Hellenistic figures to be of late type. In 'Iran and India in Prehistoric Times' Dr. Wheeler gives evidence of impulses from Iran reaching India from the third millennium or earlier to the time of the appearance of 'Nadir Shah, encumbered with a peacock throne that did not belong to him.' Evidence shows that with pottery as with megaliths simplifications are dangerous and that the theory of red-and-buff-ware areas should be received with caution. Dr. Wheeler in a footnote remarks on this point: 'I would emphasize the provisional nature of this colour classification. More complex and significant categories are beginning to replace it as knowledge accumulates.' With this paper are very welcome plates and plans of Pataliputra and Rajgir.

Mr. V. S. Agrawala produces a well illustrated paper on 'The Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra.' Certain statements call for remark. When dealing with crude 'timeless' types it is dangerous to say 'The level and the style seem mutually to disagree.' It is unfortunate that so many of the Sunga-style terracottas were found in a refuse pit, but this refuse being dated to 100 B.C.-A.D. 100, it is wrong to date nearly all the figurines found in it a century earlier on the strength of the similarity to one example found in level VII. Both stylistically and by their 'findspot' they are of the first century B.C. The so-called Naigamesa type is goat-like only by chance; at Bhita, Rajghat and Kosambi most examples have a moulded human face. The Gandhara examples of this type date definitely 50 B.C.-A.D. 100. A newly coined 'Panchala' period is introduced between Sunga and Kushana; this somewhat misleading name is presumably territorial.

The excellent report on the excavations at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli puts these cultures in their true chronological setting, previous reports on Brahmagiri and Maski being of little real value. This is a most important and valuable report leaving but small opportunities for speculative fancies. All the numbers of *Ancient India* have excellent notes on archaeological technique. The plates and diagrams are lavish and well produced and there are valuable distribution maps.

D. H. GORDON

Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries. By A. Lucas.

Third edition, revised. London (Arnold), 1948. Pp. x, 570. Price 25s.

III The first edition of this book (1926) was generally acclaimed by archaeological students of the Near East who realized that it could furnish keys to a number of their problems, while correcting various accepted errors. The present edition, revised and much enlarged, seems sure to become a classic as did its predecessors. The mass of information is very great; omissions and errors cannot of course be wholly escaped, but it contains very complete references to sources which will help readers in doubt.

Its qualities are well exemplified in the difficult matter of iron (pp. 268-275); here the author notes his change of view on the much disputed piece of terrestrial iron found on the top of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, arriving at what appears to be a highly

sensible conclusion. Another excellent instance is the account of glass, which should put to rest a number of theories founded on explanations of literary records and not on physical research.

The material facts in themselves are the strict subject matter of the book, but there must be readers who would appreciate comment, in some important cases, on the human side of the matter, in the realms both of economy and the magico-religious, so often interdependent; for instance, in the matter of gem or semi-gem stones, so highly valued for their supposed magical virtues or mere attractiveness to the eye. Of these lapis lazuli is one of the best known and most highly valued; its main source of supply is given by the author, as by most writers on the subject, as Badakshan in the north-east of Afghanistan, but, according to one of the best authorities, L. J. Spencer, that region was the source of the finest quality, as it still is (*A Key to Precious Stones*, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 216); S. Casson, in *Antiquity* (June, 1935, p. 239) recorded several other sources, while E. Unger has pointed to Mount Demavend in north-east Assyria, as has B. Meissner in his *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. I, p. 350. This seems a most likely suggestion; the journey from there to Egypt or Mesopotamia would be comparatively easy and this would account for the wide distribution in those parts of the precious mineral, often far from the highest quality. The author says (p. 455) that lapis is not found in Persia, though commonly called Persian, but Badakshan of old was part of Persia and the best specimens still retain the name.

Another matter concerning gems is the confusion between turquoise and malachite. The author confines the meaning of the Egyptian word *mekat* to the former only, but there is little doubt that it applies equally to malachite. In Sinai, a near source of the gems, they are found in two different strata but sometimes close to each other, as the result of geological faulting; the turquoise there is of a generally greenish hue and colour-discrimination is poor in Egypt, as it often is among primitives, especially for green and blue—extreme instances of this defect may be seen in the Berlin Dictionary, a remarkable one being recorded in Vol. V, 98, 1, where *dšr* is explained as 'red' (or a 'flamingo'), or as 'other nearby colours such as white or black' (explanatory details appear in my article on 'Blue and Green' in *Ancient Egypt*, June, 1932, p. 48).

In Egypt the question of jade is as teasing as it used to be, not long ago, for Europe. The facts concerning the minerals commonly called by that name are fairly well known (see Spencer's *Key*, pp. 209-213), but for specimens reported as found in ancient Egypt further enquiry is needed; enough, however, has been discovered to allow China to be left out of the question.

As a book of reference this work deserves high praise for its great comprehensiveness and minute research and it will be found useful to students of archaeology in all its branches.

A note may be added on the chronology used by the author; it is taken from Breasted's account, which is now generally reckoned as giving too high dates till the end of the Middle Kingdom. The latest account of authority is to be found in the Pelican Book on *The Pyramids of Egypt* by I. E. S. Edwards; the First Dynasty is noted as beginning 3188 B.C., from which date the gap between the two reckonings gradually decreases till they concur about 1570 B.C.

G. D. HORNBLOWER

The Growth and Nature of Egyptology. By S. R. K. Glanville. C.U.P., 1947. Pp. 37. Price 1s. 6d.

II2 Professor Glanville's inaugural lecture as first holder of the Herbert Thompson Chair of Egyptology at Cambridge, after sketching the achievements of Cambridge men in the Egyptological field, describes shortly what Egyptology is and what it can contribute to university education. His outline of what Egyptology is (or should be) is good, while his warning that the main function of linguistic research is to be ancillary to a larger field of study is timely. In his own words, Egyptology is the study of the history of the Ancient Egyptian civilization. The Egyptians themselves while making history had no instinct for history, and the best hope of understanding their history lies in closer study of the cultural and economic factors underlying Egypt's foreign relations in western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. Egyptology is thus an integral part of ancient history, and therefore of history in general, and on that basis claims its place in the intellectual economy of today. This is a great little book, much greater than its small size and low price suggest.

A. J. ARKELL

MISCELLANEOUS

The Beginnings of Religion. By E. O. James. London (Hutchinson), 1948. Pp. 189. Price 7s. 6d.

II3 Professor James has been appointed editor of a series of volumes on 'World Religions' which will form part of Hutchinson's University Library, and this is intended as an introductory volume.

The author realizes that the savage is not a speculative philosopher, and that magic and religion cannot be put into watertight compartments, but in general the book is in the Frazerian tradition. We are told what 'the savage' thinks and does, given examples, and left to conclude that totemism, or whatever it may be, is natural and universal at the appropriate cultural level. But the existence of such strange beliefs as those involved in totemism is rendered stranger by the fact that while many savages hold them, a great many others do not, and this problem is never faced.

These considerations apart, Professor James writes, as usual, lucidly, informatively and accurately; though, as regards the last, an exception must be made for his statement (p. 137) that 'primitive people are constantly experimenting, improvising and improving upon their techniques.' Savages have remained savages precisely because they do nothing of the kind.

RAGLAN

Ancient Roman Religion. By H. J. Rose. London (Hutchinson), 1949. Pp. 164. Price 7s. 6d.

II4 Professor Rose's account of Roman religion from the earliest times to the triumph of Christianity is learned, readable and, within the limits set by its size, comprehensive.

Our evidence for its earliest stages is incomplete, but enough exists to enable a fairly complete picture to be drawn. For the early Roman everything of importance was believed to be possessed of

numen, which Professor Rose equates with *mana*, and this *numen* was often, though not always, vaguely personified. In order to obtain the benefit of *numen*, it was necessary to increase its power by meticulously regulated rites. The only virtue was due performance of the rites, and the only dogma belief in their efficacy. There was a complete absence of mythology, and the deities or powers were usually ignored at such times and seasons as their assistance was not required. In the second stage, under Greek influence, the gods were increasingly personified, and many Greek beliefs were naturalized. In the third stage, in spite of the efforts of Augustus, the old religion gradually degenerated into official formalities or peasant survivals, and was replaced by cults from the East, including those of Cybele and Isis, later Mithraism, and finally Christianity, which spread by absorbing many features of the earlier cults.

RAGLAN

The Celtic and Scandinavian Religions. By J. A. MacCulloch. London (Hutchinson), 1949. Pp. 180. Price 7s. 6d.

II5 Canon MacCulloch begins by saying that the Celts were animists, but the only evidence for this is that they held certain wells and trees sacred. He goes on to say that they worshipped the boar, bear, bull, horse and snake, but though these animals symbolized certain deities, there is no reason to believe that they were worshipped as species.

He examines the sources for our knowledge of Celtic religion—the classical authors, who are generally unreliable, and the Romano-Celtic inscriptions, which give us little but names of deities. He summarizes the myths, in particular the Finn and Cuchulainn cycles, but in their existing form these have little connexion with cult. Finally he considers modern survivals which may have been of

Celtic origin. The paucity of our knowledge makes the subject a difficult one to deal with satisfactorily, but more careful planning and revision would have produced a less disjointed account with fewer repetitions.

In the section on Scandinavian religion Canon MacCulloch

draws on the Eddas and sagas for an array of stories of, and beliefs about, the gods and other supernatural beings. He ignores all recent writers, even Gronbeck, and has produced a series of classified mythological notes rather than an attempt to describe a once-living faith.

RAGLAN

CORRESPONDENCE

The Law of the Jungle: Notes on Kipling's *Mowgli Stories*

116 Sir,—Reading the *New Theory of Human Development*, I find in the work of Sir Arthur Keith a counterpart, and perhaps a development, of an outlook familiar for a generation and more, from the *Mowgli Stories* of Rudyard Kipling, most observant and philosophical of nature-lovers. And the republication of these *Mowgli Stories* by Pan Books, Ltd. (London, 1948) makes it easy to quote chapter and verse in this short study of their doctrine. It would be a longer business to annotate them with examples, such as every anthropologist has—or should have—in his notebooks.

Outside the domains of Man extends the Jungle, 'a mighty maze, but not without a plan.' For all the Jungle People live under its Law, in so far as they know it. 'The Law was like the Giant Creeper, because it dropped across everyone's back, and no one could escape' (p. 34). In time of distress 'We are under one law, indeed' (p. 59). Some indeed know but little of its higher teaching; yet even these are a law unto themselves, inspired—if by nothing else—by the Fear which came into the world in the train of Death and Shame (pp. 63–68). Some 'with hair between their toes' are ashamed of this offence (p. 154), but cannot now amend their nature. The Tiger knows how he came by his stripes (p. 66)—a 'mark of Cain.' But even he 'has no right to change his quarters without warning' (p. 8). Others, like the *Bandar-log*, with 'no law, no hunting-call, no leader' (p. 44), have nevertheless intermittent glimpses of what such things might mean; but they have 'no remembrance,' no coherence—they lie: they have always lied—above all 'no leader' (p. 32); 'to each his own fear' (p. 37). They 'eat anything,' and 'never go far' (p. 36).

Others again, like the Seconce Pack of Wolves, are 'a free people'; they take orders from the head of the Pack, but from no other; and not always from him: 'every wolf has full right under the Law to fight another wolf': Mowgli's own failure was when he was minded to interfere with this (p. 172). They take orders, because the Law 'never orders anything without cause,' but only with observation and memory can a few leaders trace effects to causes, and turn causes to give effects. Knowledge of the Law confers authority, even outside the Pack: Baloo and Bagheera may speak by leave in the Council (pp. 15, 23); Kaa and Hathi give advice. Inexperience and indiscipline may lead to discord, and diminish freedom: 'Ye have fought for Freedom, and it is yours. Eat it,' says Akela; but 'we be sick of this lawlessness, and would be the Free People once more' under a leader (p. 89).

The Pack is not maintained by birthright: cubs must be shown, 'in order that the other wolves may identify them'; after which, 'until they have killed their first buck, no excuse is accepted if a grown Wolf of the Pack kills one of them. The punishment is Death; and if you will think for a minute, you will see that this must be so.' Therefore 'look well, O Wolves' (p. 12).

For the co-optation of an alien-born, like Mowgli, the sponsors were aliens, Baloo and Bagheera; the latter 'bought' the candidate with a bull (pp. 15, 25)—like one home-bred but disputed—and it is by a similar bull-offering that Mowgli is at last emancipated (p. 186) to join a Man-pack.

When the leader of the Pack grows old and has missed his kill (pp. 20 ff.) he becomes the Dead Wolf, and any single member of the Pack may attack, kill, and replace him (p. 23); this might cost the Pack 'at least three lives' (p. 25).

But for most there is little foresight or memory. 'What will be is no more than a forgotten year striking backward, (Kaa, p. 152); 'When tomorrow comes we will kill for tomorrow' (*ibid.*); 'strike first, and then give tongue' (p. 20). There is, however, vivid

interest in country and spaces. A Pack has its hunting grounds, like our robins: beyond them, the Stranger's Hunting Call begs 'give me leave to hunt here, because I am hungry,' and the answer is 'Hunt them for food, but not for pleasure.' Even of a misbegotten tiger it is said, 'He has no right to change his quarters without warning.' Only in regard to Man is any killer forbidden to kill, 'except when he is killing to show his children how to kill': for 'Man is the weakest and most defenceless of all living things, and it is unsportsmanlike to touch him'; and also for fear of reprisals, for 'then everybody in the jungle suffers' (p. 9). Man is also very wise, and may be fearless: the jungle folk cannot look him in the eyes; he can even ignore the fascination of Kaa (p. 52). Born in captivity, Bagheera, 'because he had learned the ways of men,' became more terrible in the jungle than Shere Khan (p. 19). Bred among Wolves, Mowgli resents exclusion from the Pack; but in due time 'Mowgli will drive Mowgli. Go back to thy People'; and that was in the Time of New Talk, the mating season, when all acquired loyalties are relaxed (p. 171): 'they were all too busy with their own affairs.' Mowgli, for his part, grows to manhood at this time. 'Am I to give reason for all I choose to do?' And as Bagheera says, 'that is Man: there speaks Man' (p. 93). 'There is more in the Jungle now, than Jungle Law' (p. 94). Yet Mowgli can still say, 'I do not know what Justice is' (p. 104). That can only be learned by Man from Man. And from outside Man's Law is part understanding. It is 'to teach them Man's law that men thrust a spike into the heads of elephants' (p. 131). 'They kill when they are not hunting, for idleness and pleasure' (p. 131). Money is 'the stuff that passes from hand to hand, and never grows warmer' (p. 103). Yet much of the Jungle Law holds for Man 'a brave heart and a courteous tongue' (p. 51); 'to go quietly, hunt slowly, and never on any account to lose his temper' (p. 58); 'it is not good to make jest of thy Teacher' (p. 61). Punishment is prompt: 'He has done mischief and blows must be dealt now' (p. 53); but 'punishment settles all scores; there is no nagging afterwards.'

The Law of the Jungle may be illustrated from other writings of Kipling, and especially its continuity with the Law of Man. What is conspicuous is its inevitable combination of self-respect with respect for neighbours; it is the 'natural justice' of the Greeks, expressed in the Two Commandments of Delphi, '*Know thyself*' and '*Nothing in excess*'; for Man 'knows himself' when he knows his neighbour, and his place in a world of similar men. There may be persons 'mutilated in respect of goodness' like Shere Khan; but they 'know the Law' though they fail to do it.

It may be objected that Kipling's 'law of the jungle' is man's law projected on animal groups. Certainly *Æsop's* animals behave like Greeks, and the 'law' in *Reynard the Fox* is that of feudal society. But the jungle stories collected by W. W. Skeat in Malaya and those in *Unde Remus* and elsewhere make a coherent story though the narrators are in different phases of human society. What is suggested here is that this coherence is sufficient to justify reference to this non-human and pre-human code, to illustrate the circumstances of the emergence of humanity in a jungle world. *Æschylus* makes Prometheus give Man foresight of his end (*P.V.*, ll. 248–50), 'implanting blind confidence in them.' Only with this could they use his other gift of fire—Kipling's 'Red Flower'—and therewith discover other forms of skill. But 'having cast the skin, we may not creep into it again' (p. 185): 'when the honey is eaten, we leave the empty hive.' Mowgli cannot be both Jungle Folk and Man. And most Mowglis die (p. 210).

The Jungle is full of words that sound like one thing and mean another (p. 167). As Muller said (p. 210), 'I shall never know the inwardness of the *rukhi*.'

JOHN L. MYRES



(a) TEMPLE INTERIOR IN A BUSH NEGRO VILLAGE, COTTICA RIVER, SURINAM



(b) FUNERAL IN A BUSH NEGRO VILLAGE, COTTICA RIVER, SURINAM
The coffin is standing before the communal house, on which the Dutch flag flies at half-mast.



(c) CARVED AND PARTLY COLOURED HOUSE DOOR IN BUSH NEGRO VILLAGE, COTTICA RIVER, SURINAM



(d) MAN FROM CURAÇAO

THE NETHERLANDS WEST INDIES

Photographs: G. Glaser, 1948 (a, b, c), and Stahel, 1939 (d)

THE NETHERLANDS WEST INDIES*

by

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I17 The Dutch territories in the Western Hemisphere consist of two Governments: Dutch Guiana or Surinam, on the northern border of South America to the east of British Guiana (and nearly as large in area), and the Netherlands Antilles, till recently called the territory of Curaçao. The latter falls into two groups of islands: the Dutch Leeward Islands (Curaçao, the main isle, with Aruba to the west and Bonaire to the east) off the coast of Venezuela, and the Dutch Windwards (St. Martin, St. Eustatius and Saba), situated within the British Leewards group. However, to get a true picture the reader should interpret the following remarks about Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles against the general regional background of the Caribbean area.

The history of this region has been eventful. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and especially during the American and French revolutions and the Napoleonic wars, the present Dutch territories changed hands several times. Surinam was first British, then Dutch since 1667, later losing Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo to what is now British Guiana. Curaçao came into Dutch hands in 1634 and managed on the whole to keep others out; St. Martin has been divided between the French and the Dutch since 1648.¹ The area has been comparatively peaceful for nearly a century and a half.

In the nineteenth century and especially since the abolition of slavery (1863) the economic policy of these Dutch outposts has been mainly a succession of failures. The plantation system of Surinam has hardly been kept going by the introduction of indentured labour from China, India and Indonesia, and the return of these labourers to their own countries or their settlement as free colonizers after the conclusion of their contracts created other problems. The former slaves disliked agricultural work; their descendants have the same attitude, and so the town population has grown, swelling the numbers of unemployed while the land is short of labour.

Surinam, between French and British Guiana, is economically in a sounder position than 'Cayenne,' but lags somewhat behind 'Demerara.' Its population consists of Surinamers or Creoles (79,000)²; Javanese (34,500), East Indians (58,000), Chinese (nearly 2,400), Europeans including Dutch (1,600), Bush Negroes (about 22,000), Indians (about 3,700), others (2,600); total, without Bush Negroes or Indians, 178,000. A special group are the Jews (900), who immigrated in the seventeenth century, mostly from Brazil; they are counted according to religion, not as a racial group. The other religious denominations are:

Protestants 49,000, Roman Catholics 34,500,³ Moslems 45,500, Hindus 34,000, Confucians 1,600, others 2,400; not to mention the cults of the Bush Negroes (Plate K, a, b) and Indians. It is difficult to define racial groups, since there has always been a good deal of mixing and the colour bar is perhaps not such a developed concept in the Dutch territories as elsewhere. However, some groups, such as the Javanese, the East Indians and the Jews, tend to keep together.

Apart from the Bush Negroes (Plate K c) and the Red Indians, many of whom live far in the interior, near the Brazilian border, most of the population is concentrated in a few towns on the coast and in several smaller villages all in the coastal belt. However, to quote Blanshard, 'These colonies have an importance far greater than their size and population would indicate. They are outposts of growing democracy in the Western Hemisphere, rearguard garisons of European and American imperialism, and fermenting test-tubes of race relations.'⁴

What have all these different immigrants in common? The Netherlands culture? The Netherlands language? This is true only to a certain extent. The upper and middle classes all speak Dutch, but the Javanese peasant speaks Javanese; the East Indian speaks Hindi; the town Negroes in the lower strata speak Negro-English, as do the Bush Negroes, who use a 'talki talki' which is a mixture of Portuguese, Dutch and English, with some vestiges of African dialects⁵; the Indians have their own languages.⁶ The allegiance to the House of Oranje is of importance; 'Missie Wilhelmina' and now 'Missie Juliana' (who visited Surinam in 1943) are living symbols who certainly mean a good deal. There must be something more, however, to explain the fact that Surinam has a more or less integrated society; perhaps nearly three hundred years of Dutch Government methods, education and missionary work have brought this integration about.

The Creoles, owing to their longer residence, have a greater tendency to affiliation with the Dutch than the East Indians. They fill posts in the Government, in business, as lawyers, teachers, craftsmen or household help. In rural districts they are mostly smallholders in the settlement areas. The East Indian peasants generally own their land. In the town they are in Government posts or in business. They seem to have made a good synthesis of their own culture and Western civilization; their group is markedly in ascendance. The new constitutional regulations, especially the general vote, will probably give the East Indian group a greater influence than hitherto. The Chinese are for the most part small shopkeepers, but they are to be found in Government service as well.

* With Plate K. The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 7 December, 1948

The scenery in the coastal plains appeals to every Dutchman. The Hollanders have made polders and have built towns with a character that strengthens the first impression of familiarity. Most of the plantations, however, which were the pride of former generations are now derelict, though there are a few sugar and coffee estates still working. Besides these there are the rice fields, some mechanically cultivated, in the polders in the Nickerie district, near the frontier of British Guiana, and coconut groves. One sees the smallholdings of Javanese and Indian farmers in the so-called 'settlement areas' (*vestigingsplaatsen*); there are citrus gardens where oranges, lemons and grapefruit are grown; cocoa and bananas are being tried again after the failures caused by disease; corn and vegetables are brought to the markets and are sometimes exported to neighbouring islands, by schooner or aeroplane. One of the main assets of Surinam is, of course, its lumber. Trees are felled mostly by Bush Negroes, the rafts being brought to the coast by river.

There are few roads in Surinam; their construction is costly, the soil being soft and the proper material lacking. Transport is mostly by winding rivers, which in the coastal plains are interconnected. Even bauxite, now the main product of Surinam, is transported by ship from as far as 100 miles inland.

Three bauxite mines are in operation, two by the Surinam Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of Alcoa (Aluminum Company of America), and one by the Billiton Company, originally a tin-mining company in Indonesia. They attract as labourers many who used to work as smallholders. In the same way the American airbase during the war drew its labour from the peasant population, thus unsettling the labour situation still more.

Although the export duties paid by these companies are not high, they are important to the Government budget. However, as in most other West Indian territories, import duties form the bulk of the revenue. Till recently the budget could not be balanced and the mother country had to supply the balance. The Government therefore had little autonomy. This is being remedied today in two ways: a welfare fund has been created to strengthen the basic economy of the country; and the Surinam constitution has recently been modified to ensure more autonomy for the local government, if the budget should again not be balanced. The new constitution also provides for a wholly elected legislative council and for universal suffrage; a council of administration has been newly created as a forerunner of a council of ministers.

Similar changes have been made in the constitution of the Antilles, but it is impossible to consider the six islands of the Government of the Netherlands Antilles as a whole, since they differ greatly in economic and social status. Until the First World War these islands too were the poor stepdaughters of Holland; but with the decision in 1916 of the Shell petroleum concern to build in Curaçao refineries for processing the Venezuelan oil, the economy (and with it the whole balance of society) of the Antilles has been changed. Wealth and people have come to Curaçao, and later also to Aruba when the Standard Oil

Company and the Arend Company each built a refinery there. Since then the Government budget has been more than balanced, and the influence of the mother country has correspondingly diminished.

In Curaçao there have always been many racial elements (Plate K, *d*), but official statistics now give some 40 different nationalities on an island not quite the size of the Isle of Wight. There are the Dutch kernel group of Protestant settlers from the seventeenth century; the few hundreds of Portuguese Jews (as in Surinam); the Negro and Mulatto descendants of the African peoples; the Chinese and Portuguese small farmers; the Dutch managers of oil and transport concerns; the labourers for all these business enterprises. These come from all the surrounding islands and territories, and this is one reason why the population of the other islands of the Antilles Government is rapidly declining. Bonaire, Saba, Statia and St. Martin have respectively 5,300, 1,150, 950 and 1,700 inhabitants left, while Curaçao has more than 90,000 and Aruba 48,000 (in 1900 they had 30,000 and 9,000 respectively). In Aruba the picture is quite as mixed; the Indian strain in the native population seems to be stronger than in Curaçao.

On the islands of the Windward group no taxes are levied; Curaçao pays for all the services. Most of the men go and work in Aruba or Curaçao, or in the United States, coming home only every few years. They send money home to their families, to supplement what the women earn by needlework. But society is disintegrating; and in Aruba and Curaçao society has not reintegrated.⁷ Not only is there constant shifting, but the groups keep very much apart; even in the upper levels one finds the oil people, the K.L.M. group, the government officials, the business men keeping together. Similarly among the labourers the different nationalities do not mix easily; this creates tensions which hinder the healthy growth of society.

All the natives want to work at the oil factories, and leave their former occupations; they lose their original skills, and become dependent on the oil and on imported goods. If Venezuela starts—as she has already started—refining her own oil, and if conditions there develop in such a way that foreign capital is attracted, Curaçao and Aruba (and still more the other islands) may decline rapidly.⁸ This threat has been recognized, and researches have been made into a possible alternative basis for the economy of these islands. There is phosphate on Curaçao; but here, as with the Surinam bauxite, the question is how long it will last. Agriculture is difficult since the rainfall is too slight, and the soil has suffered seriously from the effects of erosion. Perhaps a few industries might be started, and the skills inherent in the people might be kept alive by education, for example, in handicrafts.

Education in the schools is given on the same basis as in the Netherlands, although the language of the Aruba-Curaçao-Bonaire group is *Papiamentu* (a mixture of Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, African, Indian and Dutch) for all the levels of the native population. Latin American cultural influence in these islands is marked, and easily explained by the fact that Spanish, as well as English

and in most cases French, is taught in all the schools. On the Windward Islands, however, the native language is English, Dutch being taught in the schools as a discipline only. As education there does not go further than primary schools, the Dutch is soon forgotten; moreover, contact with the neighbouring English, French and American (Virgin) islands, where only English is spoken, is frequent.

On Saba the population falls into white and coloured sections, without much intermarriage. The other islands of this group show more mixing, though in St. Martin at least one village is wholly white.

Between Surinam and the Antilles there is some contact, apart from that on Government level and by the press; but the direction is mostly away from Surinam. Teachers, doctors and other skilled persons leave the mainland to take up posts in the islands, thus draining their country of its best. This tendency will probably continue as long as there is a marked difference in standards of living. The possibility of immigration from overpopulated islands such as Barbados, St. Lucia, or Haiti to Dutch Guiana (and for that matter to British Guiana and British Honduras) is being investigated; but hitherto the practical results have been disappointing. The possibility of immigration by D.P.s. has also been considered, but this matter is still in the stage of investigation.

There has been too little sociological research,⁹ and social planning based on it, for lasting results to be expected in the near future. The Anglo-American-French-Dutch Caribbean Commission and its Research Council, in which both Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles are represented, can perhaps give some useful advice, since the whole Caribbean area is struggling with similar problems, and there is certainly more interaction than a superficial account such as this may convey.

Notes

¹ Arciniegas, *passim*, especially pp. 192f., 235f.

² The term 'Creole' is generally used of native-born people who do not belong to any of the other groups mentioned, regardless of colour.

³ About 84 per cent. of the total population of the Netherlands Antilles are Roman Catholics.

⁴ Blanshard, p. 1.

⁵ Herskovits, *Suriname Folk-Lore*.

⁶ W. Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopædie der Karaiben*, Amsterdam, 1931.

⁷ A contrary opinion is expressed in *Oranje en de zes Caraibische parelen*, 1948 (memorial volume for Queen Wilhelmina's golden jubilee), p. 12.

⁸ A suggested solution, which has received little support, is an eventual affiliation of the Dutch Leeward Islands with Venezuela.

⁹ Herskovits has done some good work on Bush Negroes and on Paramaribo Town Negroes; the Dutch sociologist R. van Lier will publish results of his investigations shortly.

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THE BIRTH OF A NGONI CHILD

by

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118 The following is an account, almost as I wrote it down at the time, of the birth of a baby amongst the Fort Jameson Ngoni living in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia. I have added some notes on the relationships of the people concerned and some comparisons with other births which I attended among the same people.

The mother, Mwanijinga,¹ was a young primipara living in the village of her husband's mother's father. Puberty had occurred twenty-three months previously in June, 1945, and shortly afterwards she had married. Her husband worked at a tobacco factory about ten miles away and visited the village only at weekends.

I had previously asked the husband's mother's mother, Kupiwe, an important woman of the village, whether I could be present at the birth. She had said I could come if it took place in the village, but that Mwanijinga might go

away to the village of her own mother's father, where his widow, Mwanijinga's mother's mother, the woman who had brought her up, was living. I also asked if they knew when the birth would take place, but was told only that it would be soon.

On Sunday, 4 May, 1947, about midday, Jes, a daughter of Kupiwe, came to ask me if I would visit Mwanijinga, who was ill. During the walk of a mile to her village I could get no direct statement from my companion that the baby was coming; she merely repeated that Mwanijinga was ill. We found Mwanijinga lying on a mat in Kupiwe's hut. With her were Kupiwe and Esnat, Kupiwe's husband's sister. An abdominal examination showed the baby to be lying in the left occipito-anterior position with the uterus contracting well. Kupiwe told me that the pains had begun early in the morning. After this examination I took no

active part in the proceedings, but sat on a small stool against the wall of the hut.

Mwanijinga lay on her right side and waved her foot during pains. At intervals she got up and walked about. Kupiwe and Esnat went out, taking with them a brush, and Jes came in accompanied by her five-year-old son. Little notice was taken of Mwanijinga.

At one o'clock Kupiwe came and told us to move to her kitchen hut, a smaller building a few yards away. It had been freshly swept and contained only a mat, the charred remains of a fire, a bottle and a saucepan lid. Mwanijinga lay down on the mat for ten minutes, and was then made to sit with her back against the wall, which she did unwillingly as she wished to doze between pains. She asked for water to drink and this was fetched for her. Later she was given a small pad about eight inches square, made from bits of old cloth, to sit on. Jes and her son had not accompanied us to the kitchen hut and only the two old women were now present. During the pains Kupiwe sometimes pressed Mwanijinga's knees together.

At 1.30 p.m. a younger woman, Titamenje, sister of Mwanijinga's husband, came into the hut with a baby about six months old on her back. I was subsequently told by Jes, when I enquired why this young woman had been called in, that Kupiwe had sent for her. At 1.45 p.m. Titamenje was told by Kupiwe to sit behind Mwanijinga, put her knees against Mwanijinga's buttocks and her hands on her iliac crests. Kupiwe meanwhile held Titamenje's child. Esnat now put a cloth round Mwanijinga in the small of her back and herself sat down on one of the charred logs just in front of Mwanijinga, holding the ends of the cloth. From now on Esnat pulled on this cloth during pains and, to prevent Mwanijinga slipping forward, she put her feet over Mwanijinga's feet while Titamenje, from behind, reached round and held Mwanijinga's knees.

At 1.50 p.m. there was a small show. At two o'clock Mwanijinga was given some porridge to eat of the thin kind given to babies and ill people. I was told that it did not contain any medicine, but was just to make the stomach warm.

At 2.10 p.m. Mwanijinga was holding her breath during contractions and I thought she was in the second stage, while at 2.20 the vulva was beginning to stretch and the second stage was well under way. There was no change in the behaviour of her attendants. Esnat massaged the top of the uterus. Sweat was wiped from Mwanijinga's face and back and Kupiwe and Esnat changed places, while Mwanijinga was replaced on the pad from which she had slipped. She did not cry or groan, but merely grunted. With each pain Mwanijinga said 'Come on', and if Esnat was taking snuff at the time and did not pull quickly enough on the cloth she would repeat this appeal more urgently.

At 2.30 p.m. the membranes were visible at the vulva. Kupiwe rubbed Mwanijinga's back and pummelled it while Titamenje left the hut with her baby, returning in about twenty minutes. By three o'clock the membranes no longer retracted between pains. Esnat again pummelled the top of the uterus—repeating this manoeuvre five

minutes later—and continued to pull on the cloth at each pain. Kupiwe and Titamenje again changed places at 3.20 and Titamenje's baby was left lying on the mat by itself. Kupiwe came to the front, stood astride Mwanijinga, clasped her hands behind the small of Mwanijinga's back and so lifted her up during pains. After about ten minutes Kupiwe returned to her place behind Mwanijinga and Titamenje went back to her child to suckle it. At 3.38 a baby girl was born; the membranes did not rupture until the birth. No one assisted the actual birth of the baby, who cried well and was left lying on the floor. Kupiwe held the top of the uterus and Mwanijinga was made to kneel and straddle the baby with her hands on the floor on either side of it. A grindstone was put on her back, a wooden spoon pushed down her mouth to make her retch and a cloth tied tight round her upper abdomen. I was later told that a grindstone was used as it was heavy and would help to expel the placenta. Jes brought some medicine for Mwanijinga to drink, also to assist the birth of the placenta. She said afterwards that this medicine, made by soaking bark from a wild tree in hot water, had been taught her by her grandmother; it was one that many women knew. The baby was by this time rather blue. Esnat wiped some froth from her mouth, but otherwise no attention was paid to her. Kupiwe fetched some sand and scattered it on the wet patches on the floor; then she thumped Mwanijinga's back and at 3.50 p.m. the placenta and membranes were born. However, the membranes did not leave the vagina completely and Mwanijinga was made to remain kneeling astride her baby. The cord was still not cut. Her back was again pummelled and a spoon pushed down her throat.

At 4.05 p.m. Jes brought in some porridge, which Mwanijinga ate still kneeling on the floor. This did not contain any medicine and Mwanijinga was given it just because she was hungry. Again her back was pummelled. At 4.15 p.m. Kupiwe brought in a tin containing water with some leaves floating in it, with which she washed Mwanijinga's buttocks. Unfortunately I did not enquire the specific properties of these leaves. Mwanijinga was made to kneel on one knee, but as none of these methods resulted in the membranes leaving the vagina Jes suggested that they should tighten the cloth round her abdomen. This was done, and Esnat lit a small fire. At last at 4.30 p.m. Esnat very hesitantly pulled out the membranes, forty minutes after the arrival of the placenta. A piece of cloth from the pad was now rolled into a belt and tied round Mwanijinga's waist while she knelt with her hands on Esnat's shoulders. Another piece of cloth was passed between her legs and tucked under the belt in front and behind. Only now was she allowed to go over to the mat and lie down.

Attention was turned to the baby. Small bits of cloth were rolled into strings and tied round the cord in three places about one inch, three inches and five inches from the umbilicus. Kupiwe wandered out of the hut and came back with some more sand and a hoc. She went out again and this time returned with a pot and a safety razor blade. She cut the cord with the blade beyond the third ligature

and anointed the baby on her knees, chest, forehead and back with blood from the placental end of the cord. Jes later told me that the baby had been anointed in order to make her strong, but that there was no particular significance in the places chosen. In the other two births I attended the same custom was followed.

Esnat now made a hole with the hoe just behind the door, which opened inwards, and buried the placenta and membranes and the rest of the pad of cloth. All this time the baby was left lying on the wet, cold mud floor, although a damp rag had been pushed under part of her body. Kupiwe scraped and cleaned the floor and pressed down the earth over the hole where the placenta was buried. Several other women who had come into the hut began to yell, shout and dance. Warm water was fetched and poured into the pot brought in earlier. Kupiwe sat over the place where the placenta was and washed the baby with the water. At five o'clock, nearly an hour and a half after she had been born, the baby was wrapped in a dry cloth and was fondled by Kupiwe, while Mwanijinga was lying on the mat almost unnoticed.

As the baby was born on a Sunday, Mwanijinga's husband was in the village. He waited in Kupiwe's dwelling hut and Jes went to tell him the news. He said he had been afraid that Mwanijinga would die and that her people would take legal proceedings against him. However, he was not asked to confess his adulteries as is still the custom should a birth prove difficult.²

I visited the hut again the next evening and was told rather sorrowfully that the baby already had a cold. Kupiwe had slept in the kitchen hut with Mwanijinga and the baby. While I was there Kupiwe gave the baby some

water to drink. She scooped it up in her hand and poured it down the baby's throat by putting her whole hand over the baby's mouth. Jes was away from the village as she had gone to Mwanijinga's people to tell them the baby had been born. On returning she said they would be coming the next day to see the child. By the following day Mwanijinga's milk had come in and the baby was sucking.

Some time before the birth Jes had told me that it is the custom to bury the placenta in an old pot, but this was done neither at this birth nor at the other two I saw. At one of these other births the membranes also failed to leave the vagina, and with this method of unassisted delivery of the placenta this complication can hardly be uncommon. Although this was in another village with different old women officiating, again the situation seemed to baffle them. In this case I had been called in to help at what was thought to be a difficult birth and I pulled the membranes clear of the vagina as soon as I saw there was a danger of the baby being left on the floor for a long time. This manoeuvre called forth various comments such as 'She is a European doctor,' while the incident was told afresh to all the women who came into the hut.

Notes

¹ All proper names in this account are fictitious.

² Cf. Rattray, *Folk-Lore Stories*, p. 105, and Read, *Moral Code*, p. 18.

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COORDINATES AS A CLUE TO THE MORPHOLOGY OF HUMAN PROFILES*

by

R. GULEY LEWIS

II9 The study of living things is wide enough to allow various specialists to approach the several problems in their own particular ways. Of these, some wish to peer behind the scenes, so to speak, and learn *how* things are done; and morphologists are especially interested in showing how one shape gradually becomes another—and can sometimes say *why* it does so. Amongst the latter, the late Sir d'Arcy Thompson was prominent: his book *On Growth and Form* (1942) is not primarily concerned with man, but shows how a great many living things, in growing, conform to laws which can often be expressed by graphs or by geometrical figures—a jellyfish, a begonia leaf, a seashell, a shark's vertebra and many other natural shapes are passed in review.

In his later chapters, d'Arcy Thompson considers the development of bones and skulls, comparing one shape

* With 4 text figures

with another and using coordinates which are not straight lines at right angles, but each curved in conformity with some mathematical expression. In the present paper, a rather simpler plan is adopted—for the purpose of comparing human profiles—the ordinates being vertical, but the abscissæ above and below the horizontal being exponential (or logarithmic) curves; the kind of differential growth required to cause one shape to become another is easily seen. On this plan, profiles are not all the same size; but it has been found that apparent differences in size may readily be ignored and attention concentrated on shape.

Fig. 1 shows how a long and a globular fish may be compared; and (below) it can be seen how the modern short, high head and orthognathous profile developed from a longer type of head with a more acute facial angle. In studying morphology in this way, a framework of exponential curves is first constructed; the desired profile

is then drawn in and significant points moved up (or down) the corresponding curves, each to the same distance. As can be proved by trial, the horizontal must pass approximately through the site of the hypophysis, and a limiting

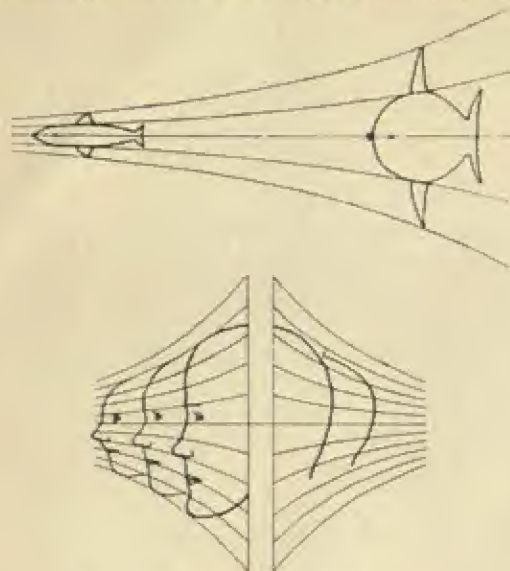


FIG. 1. EXPONENTIAL EVOLUTION

plane passing through the same point divides the front from the back of the head—for a second framework of curves pointing the other way is required to examine the morphology of this.

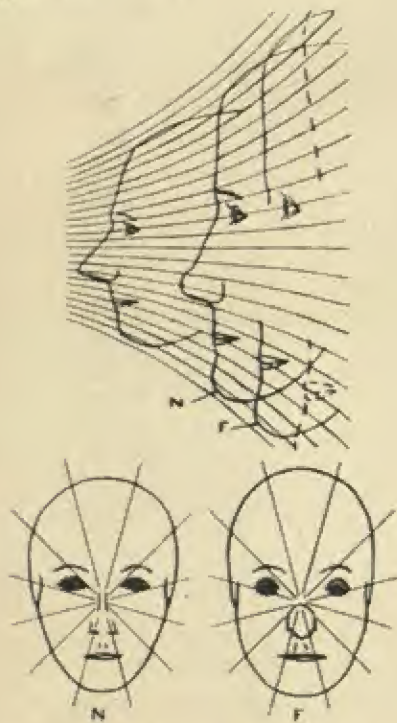


FIG. 2. MORPHOLOGY OF TYPES N AND F

In more detail, in fig. 2, it can be seen how such a thing as the precise angle of the nasal bones is determined by the degree of change in growth rate. The orthognathous type

depicted, with the short, high head, is given the letter N (names having been avoided in this paper). It is included in Alpine by some anthropologists, and named Young Alpine by others. The developmental affinity is here, however, seen to be with a type having a somewhat receding forehead and chin and a long nose—which sounds much more like a Mediterranean than an Alpine. Carried farther to the right of fig. 2, the same process gives a type with an ultra-high and short head, flattened both in the face and at the back. Ultra-high heads are not common in this country, but are to be seen in the Middle East; on the other hand, an extreme flattening of the cheekbones under each eye, so that the shape of the under side of the eyeball is revealed, is very commonly found here. Carrying the process still farther to the right of fig. 2 would produce a dished face. This is a type rarely to be seen, except on achondroplastic dwarfs, though there is a classical reference to such dished faces in Dacia, part of the Danube delta.

No amount of taking profiles up or down an exponential framework will produce from type N the type which has

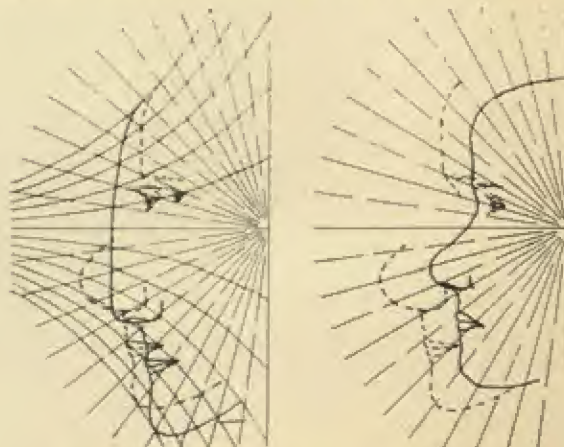


FIG. 3. MORPHOLOGY OF TYPES G AND B

been given the letter G and was common in the palmy days of the history of Greece (if one is to judge from its appearance on numerous statues, frescoes and vases). In one variation, the sloping forehead (not very high) makes one line with the long straight nose, and the mental prominence of the mandible is deep. The receding forehead speaks of approach to the small end of the exponential framework, but the deep chin speaks of retirement from that end. The solution is found in a revolution within the framework, which is crossed by a fan of lines radiating from about the site of the hypophysis.

If, in accordance with d'Arcy Thompson's practice in the comparison of related forms (ch. XVII), each point in a diamond is transferred to the corresponding place in the adjacent diamond, the profile arrived at is that of another well-known type, here given the letter B. (The dotted line has been taken out again on the right, for clearness, and shown against a standard B profile.) Type B not only boasts considerable antiquity and a wide geographical range, but (in my experience) is also liable to crop out in a large family—on the distaff side, for preference—where

the members run to type G. It is therefore interesting to have mathematical proof in fig. 3 of morphological connexion between the two types. One might speak of G as a deflected type B.

There is an analogous connexion between two other types, both remarkable for a convex, generally receding, forehead and very large orbits. In one, referred to here as pC, the eyebrows seem to reach up towards the hairline, and there is a large angular nose and a jutting chin. Fig. 4 shows that it is related to a gentler-looking type (given the letter C) with a concave nose. Type pC is therefore a deflected type C.

The user of this form of diagram will realize that, as the exponential trumpet goes out to infinity and back on the horizontal line, it is not practicable to transfer, with any certainty, points in the immediate vicinity of this. Fortunately, in the two examples given, the course the dotted line should take is clearly indicated. Seeing that deflection in the above manner brings out the middle of a face, and turns a small nose into a prominent feature, the reader will no doubt deduce that partial revolution in the reverse

direction would bring the jaws—especially their alveolar ridges—up to the horizontal and give a simian profile.

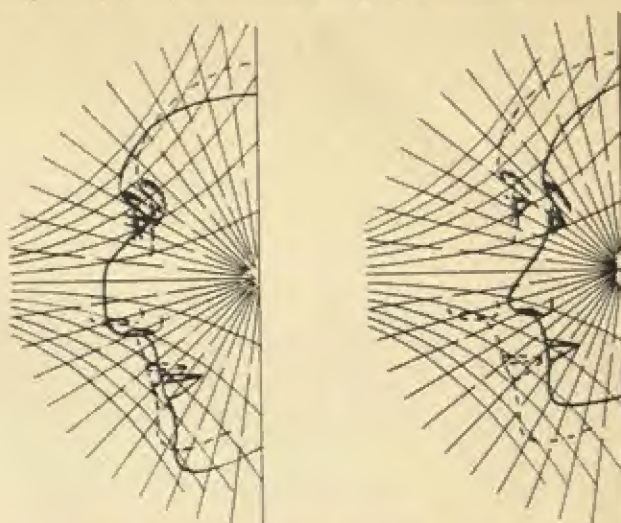


FIG. 4. MORPHOLOGY OF TYPES pC AND C

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

West Indian Family Organization. By Dr. Fernando Henriques. *Summary of a Communication to the Institute,* 5 April, 1949

The lecturer suggested that the forms of the family of the Negro of the New World were due to the influence of plantation slavery rather than to the persistence of African forms of mating. Jamaica, in the British West Indies, was taken to be typical of the New World area. Amongst the peasants and urban workers, constituting 85 per cent. of the Jamaican population, four types of family or domestic group could be distinguished: A, Christian Family, B, Faithful Concubinage, C, Maternal or Grandmother Family, D, Keeper Family. This was not a rigid classification, as a domestic group could experience all these forms in the course of its history.

A approximated to the European monogamous unit. B, C and D had social but no legal or religious sanction. B, Faithful Concubinage, outwardly resembled A, but there was complete equality between the partners. In the Grandmother Family there

was no head male of the family, the grandmother or some female relative performing the function of both father and mother. In D the man and woman lived together in a temporary union.

Poverty was the essential background of all such domestic groups. The level of income appeared to decrease from A to D, but this was not always the case. Poverty did not create the type of family structure, economic insecurity being merely one of several factors.

The middle and upper classes were characterized by Christian Monogamy. In the upper class monogamy existed side by side with the institution of the 'Twin Household and the Outside Child,' an inheritance from the days of plantation slavery.

The family structure of the Jamaican lower class was not to be regarded as a deviant from Christian Monogamy. Jamaican society, permeated by extreme poverty and colour frustration, was in a state of disequilibrium, but that did not mean that the family groupings described were themselves disorganized; in fact they had exhibited a marked degree of stability over a long period.

SHORTER NOTE

Another 'International' Congress. Communicated by Sir John Myres

I21 The Royal Anthropological Institute has received a circular announcing an 'International' Congress of Mediterranean Prehistory and Proto-history, to be held in Florence in the spring of 1950.

This is in no sense an 'International' occasion. 'The congress is sponsored' by the National Institute of Archaeology and History of Art in Rome, and other Italian societies, and patronized by the Italian Ministry of Education and Foreign Office, the Comune, Chamber of Commerce and Tourist

Organization of Florence and 'other Italian and foreign institutions which will be named later on.' The Promoting Committee consists of seven Italians connected with Italian Universities and Institutes.

This is a conspicuous instance of the habit which is unfortunately becoming common, especially in Italy, of prefixing the word 'International' to the title of societies, which, however admirable their objects, are essentially, and sometimes merely, national in organization. It is surprising that responsible bodies such as the Italian Ministry of Education and Foreign Office should give their patronage to a society with so misleading a title.

REVIEWS

Books reviewed in MAN are normally, but not invariably, placed in the Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute; a full list of accessions is published monthly on the back cover of MAN.

GENERAL

Primitive Money in its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects. By Paul Einzig. London (Eyre and Spottiswoode), 1949. Pp. xii, 517. Price 25s.

122 'Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days'; here is an influential financial journalist, a recognized authority on monetary theory, urging his academic economist colleagues to get down to some serious ethnographic reading. A number of British anthropologists have been crying in the wilderness after this fashion for the past twenty years and one can only hope that Dr. Einzig will not likewise find that his professional colleagues have ears, but hear not.

The author has not only a wide practical experience in the application of modern economic theory but also a quite awe-inspiring industry. I estimate that his bibliography contains at least 800 entries, the bulk of which refer to decidedly abstruse ethnographic sources. Though lacking in discrimination as to what constitutes satisfactory evidence, Dr. Einzig has digested this mass of material to some purpose. The result is a book which is at once a provocative contribution to the theory of primitive economics and a valuable, though not altogether reliable, source book of ethnographic fact.

Following a thirty-page introduction, the author divides the next 280 pages into 101 separate chapters, each chapter being a summary of the ethnographic and historical evidence relating to the use of eccentric forms of currency in one particular locality or region. The statistical spread is very impressive and ranges from coconuts in the Nicobars to snail-shells in Paraguay, from bronze axes in Ancient Gaul to cigarettes in post-war Germany. These summaries naturally reflect the deficiencies of the original sources. In many cases we are merely given lists of the sort of objects which have circulated without any reference to frequency of use or limitation of function. The rest of the book (150 pages) is devoted to a thorough-going theoretical discussion of the definition, origin and economic nature of both primitive and modern money. This theoretical discussion is a very valuable one, but readers should realize that many of the circulating media listed in the first half of the book do not readily qualify as primitive money by the definition given on p. 326. By this definition primitive money is 'a unit or object conforming to a reasonable degree to some standard of uniformity, which is employed for reckoning or for making a large proportion of the payments customary in the community concerned, and which is accepted for payment largely with the intention of employing it for making payment.' Broad as this definition is our author proposes to make it still broader by 'disregarding our self-imposed limitations in what seem to be borderline cases.' The principal limitation is presumably the word 'large'; but if this be omitted, as it must be if all Dr. Einzig's examples are money, the concept 'primitive money' seems to mean little more than 'customary gift.'

One of Dr. Einzig's major interests has been to enquire into the origin of modern money. In this connexion he criticizes the classical economists' assumptions regarding the evolution of barter into money exchange and hence into a full credit economy. He argues (p. 372) that ethnographic evidence implies a pre-monetary development of ideas of credit. He suggests (pp. 376-394) that modern money may just as well have developed from ritual as from purely economic procedures. Anthropologists will accept most of this argument, but may regret that in the vain pursuit of origins valid distinctions that can be drawn between the functional roles of different types of exchange media among modern primitives tend to become obscured. By stressing the 'store of value' function of money, Dr. Einzig is led to rate as primitive money many types of ritual wealth which anthropologists, following the more narrowly orthodox emphasis on 'medium of exchange,' have specifically claimed were non-monetary. The armbands and shell necklaces of

the Trobriands are a case in point (p. 81). The advantages of this change of view are debatable.

On the whole anthropologists are likely to be critical of the use made of ethnographic sources. Dr. Einzig recognizes that only a small proportion of anthropologists have approached their material adequately equipped with economic concepts, and he gives credit where credit is due (p. 23)—surely Goodfellow deserved a mention here?—but this hardly excuses him for falling such a ready victim to the standard pitfalls of the comparative method. Throughout the first part of the book, third-hand gossip and travellers' tales of the eighteen-seventies are given just the same credibility as systematic field work of the present century. I venture to guarantee that any anthropological reader who studies carefully the chapter devoted to some area with which he is personally familiar will be shocked to discover the extent of both the inaccuracies and the omissions. Whatever readers may think of the author's theoretical conclusions they had best be suspicious of his factual evidence; quantity does not make up for quality in data of this sort. Nevertheless, social anthropologists can claim a victory. One heartily welcomes the thorough assimilation of the modern anthropological viewpoint evidenced in Book III, Chapter 34, entitled 'A Social Theory of Money' and one can also cordially endorse Dr. Einzig's view that the whole subject is one deserving much further detailed field research by anthropologists adequately trained in the concepts of modern economic theory.

E. R. LEACH

The Story of the Bridge. By F. W. Robins. London (Cornish), no date. Pp. 278, with 73 illustrations. Price 30s.

123 A complement to Jervoise's books on ancient bridges has been badly needed. The author of this new book deals with the story of the bridge from a social-history standpoint, tracing not only the development of the bridge itself, but its associations with human life and endeavour and with the community. The book thus covers a broader field than those which have been written from a purely architectural, engineering or topographical point of view.

It is a pity that the author did not confine himself in this volume to the story of the bridge as it is told in the British Isles. The interspersing of foreign examples and comparisons does not blend happily and there can be no shortage of material from our own islands. For instance it would have been interesting to have seen mentioned the well-known Sutton pack-horse bridge in Bedfordshire. In the same county Bromham Bridge is mentioned, but not so the Holy Well lying in the foundations of part of the bridge.

Chapters on Bridge Chapels, Bridge Legends and Superstitions, Bridge Games and Festivals, and Pack-Horse Bridges are included in a book which forms a useful addition to a subject that has not attracted a heavy bibliography. THOMAS W. BAGSHAW

La Géographie Humaine. By Jean Brunhes; abridged edition, edited by Mme. Jean-Brunhes Delamarre and Pierre Deffontaine. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1947. Pp. xvi, 365, 40 maps, 117 photographs. Price 500 fr.

124 The first edition of this classical study in human, or, as we should now say, social, geography appeared in 1910. This, the second abridged edition, keeps the work up to date with the addition of a bibliography of books and articles down to 1947; these references are well classified and easy to use. It says much for the quality of the original that, despite great developments in the subject in the past 40 years, the plan and the commentary on the relationships of human societies to their environments are still valid and may be read with profit.

J. M. MOGEY

AMERICA

Children of the People: The Navaho Individual and his Development. By Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn. Harvard Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1947. Pp. xvi, 276, with maps, 18 photographs, diagrams, bibliography and Index

125 This book was written as a part of the Indian Research Project undertaken jointly by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs. The immediate objective of the project was to investigate, analyse, and compare the development of personality in five Indian tribes in the context of their total environment—socio-cultural, geographical and historical—for implications in regard to Indian Service administration. The ultimate aim of the long-range plan of research of which this project is the first step is to evaluate the whole Indian administrative program with special reference to the effect of present policy on Indians as individuals, to indicate the direction toward which this policy is leading, and to suggest how the effectiveness of Indian administration may be increased. . . . This research has been carried on since 1941 through the co-operative efforts of a large staff drawn from several fields, chiefly anthropology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, linguistics, education and administration' (p. vii). The same authors' *The Navaho* (1946) provides a descriptive background of the environment, culture, etc., for the present volume.

I may say immediately that the book will obviously be invaluable to all whites working with Navaho in that it must give them a better understanding of the people. Specific proposals, like most proposals in applied anthropology, are not particularly impressive. As a British anthropologist with experience in Africa, I was interested to find that the Navaho have the same dominant attitude of suspicion and hostility to whites that Africans have.

Considered as a contribution to anthropology, *Children of the People* contains two main sections. First there is a description of how typical Navaho, in three areas in varying situations within the American organization, grow to adulthood, and generalized

accounts of their 'psyches.' These 'psyches' are referred partly to the social and cultural setting, and partly, by processes of depth psychology, to the modes of child-rearing.

The second section reports the results of a series of physical and psychological tests on Navaho children in the three areas. The psychological tests were of intelligence and of attitudes, sentiments and emotional reactions, and projective tests (Free Drawing, Murray's Thematic Apperception Test, and the Rohrschach Psycho-Diagnostic Test). An analysis of the interdependence of physical environment, history and personalities, and the Navaho way of life, is attempted in the conclusion.

The authors are modest in their claims of achievement, chief of which perhaps is their stress on the fact that their results depend on research by teams of specialists helped by people with local knowledge. In this, and as an early study in the field application of a series of tests to a group whose culture is largely of 'primitive' ancestry, the book is valuable. The authors themselves take constant pains to point out all the difficulties encountered in the field and in drawing conclusions from the results or forming generalizations. What strikes me, with experience in another primitive continent, is how much the concepts and propositions of depth psychology have still to be refined, and how easy it is to apply them loosely in interpretation. Very different personalities, judged by overt behaviour, are found in African tribes with the same general modes of child-rearing, or the similarities can be more simply explained by the same basic social conditions. The influence of social processes, and of the cultural milieu, on behaviour seems to be of dominant importance, though the structure of personalities created in the early years may be similar.

Drs. Leighton and Kluckhohn have given much of their evidence and state explicitly the grounds of their reasoning; in doing this they have made a notable contribution to the study of the relation between individuals and society.

Several words were omitted by the printer in passing from p. 33 to p. 34, p. 52 to p. 53, and p. 77 to p. 78. MAX GLUCKMAN

EUROPE

Fran Vildmark till Bygd. By Åke Campbell. Uddevalla (Bokförlaget Hermes), 1948. Pp. 272

126 This study of Lapp culture 'from the wilderness of the nomads to the settled country of farmers' is intended as a contribution to the history of the Swedish settlers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The author (well known to British folk students for his studies of the Irish house and for his collaboration with Dr. Erixon in their great work on Swedish culture) is responsible for the magnificent research work carried out in the folk archives of the University of Uppsala. In this work he surveys the life of Lapland in mediæval times, dealing with hunting, trapping, fishing, reindeer-breeding and the fur trade. He discusses various problems of taxation, bartering and trade, the influence of Christian missions and colonizing activity following the ordinances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the second part of the work the Lapp cultural year and the 'culture contact' between Lapps and Swedes are discussed. Of special interest is the section on irrigated meadows, a feature mentioned in old Norse literature and widely known in Europe and Asia. Disputes between 'natives' and 'colonizers' are shown to have been frequent. The newcomers' dogs harried the native reindeer; the reindeer, on the other hand, destroyed the haystacks and drying hurdles of the settlers. Dr. Campbell shows how the independent Lapp tended to become a dependant herdsman until legislation was introduced in 1928 to end this. He also discusses the effect of the introduction of spirit-drinking, pointing out that the original festival customs of the Lapps were connected not with drinking but with the eating of meat. Drinking abuses disappeared with the substitution of coffee for spirits.

IORWERTH C. PEATE

OCEANIA

Guam and its People. By Laura Thompson, with a Village Journal by Jesus C. Barcinas (3rd edition, revised). Princeton Univ. Press, 1947. Pp. xiii, 367, with 29 plates and 5 maps. Price \$5.00

127 This is a substantially revised edition of what the dust-cover describes as 'the standard work on Guam,' first published in 1941. The book is largely an account of the administrative system and present-day economic organization of Guam as it affects the non-American section of the community. It is not always quite clear how much of this system has survived into the post-war period. Considerable emphasis is placed upon the study of native education; indeed the original research of which this book is the product was

an officially sponsored enquiry into the adequacy of the school system then in operation.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards Guam is reputed to have supported a native Chamorro population of nearly 50,000, but by 1786 this had been reduced to 1,318 'natives' most of whom were probably mixed bloods. The present-day native population numbers some 23,000 of very mixed origin, Spaniards, Filipinos and Japanese being the principal components. Most of this population are ardent Catholics and it is interesting to read how the process of Americanization is being pushed through by substituting Americans for the former Spanish priests (pp. 184-187). Despite these drastic changes in the ethnological situation Dr. Thompson holds that

important elements of the original Chamorro culture have survived into the present day, and on the basis of this she builds up an elaborate argument to the effect that the American régime creates frustration and hostility by seeking 'to suppress many Guamanian patterns of satisfaction and creativity' (p. 302).

To me it appears rather that the iniquities of the administration are the iniquities of colonialism in general and that the case for Chamorro cultural survival has not been made out. On this point readers are likely to agree or disagree with Dr. Thompson according to the views they hold upon such topical anthropological themes as culturally defined basic personality and the survival of African culture among New World negroes. I myself am on the side of the sceptics.

E. R. LEACH

Ny Guineas Kunst. By Carl Kjerfve, Copenhagen (Gjellerup), 1948. Pp. 24, with 24 plates. Price Kr. 6.50

128 This booklet is based on the collection in the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen. The text is in Danish and English, and amounts to 16 pages altogether. After a brief account of the environment it deals with the principal local styles and offers suggestions as to the possible external origin of certain art forms. There is a disproportion in the number of plates allotted to different areas; for instance the Sepik area has eighteen, the Gulf and Massim areas only one each. However, the pieces chosen for illustration are good, and the plates will be valuable to students who may find it difficult to visit the Museum.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

The Gate of Horn and Aboriginal Australia. Cf. MAN, 1949, 18

129 Sir,—This may be regarded as an additional note to Sir John L. Myres' review (MAN, 1949, 18) of Miss G. R. Levy's interesting book, *The Gate of Horn* (London, 1948). I am concerned almost solely with her first 53 pages and the use made of Australian Aboriginal material. Generally speaking, the author does not seem to be well versed in this field. She has relied too much on second-hand material, as presented by Sollas and Frazer, and by Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. In addition, she has been so carried away by her theme that she has read it, sometimes rather quickly, into what literature she has handled. I think it expedient to point out where this has occurred.

Miss Levy does not give grounds for regarding Neanderthal as 'sub-human' and 'not true man,' who seems 'never to have developed fully articulate speech' (pp. 5f.). Neanderthal man was not of the same type as any of the existing types, but in view of his many social and normal human practices listed by the author on p. 6, it is curious to describe him as sub-human.

Miss Levy is inclined in her enthusiasm to make rather sweeping statements which are not completely accurate. Thus, the Australian Aborigines possessed, in addition to Palaeolithic implements of all types, 'some intrusion of Neolithic polished weapons probably brought by traders from the islands'. There is a polished stone element in Australian culture, particularly in the eastern part of the continent, and, much less developed, in the far north-west (the Kimberley Division). But it is not necessary to posit traders for the articles. The craft was introduced, but the natives themselves made stone axes with ground edges. Often, too, the whole surface of the axe was polished. They also made a number of polished stone symbolic objects. In part of Eastern Australia, too, the Port-Jackson-Hawkesbury District, rock engraving (of petroglyphs) reached its zenith. The gashed outlines of the figures, which represent natural species, artifacts, symbols and cult heroes, have been completed by rubbing the grooves. On the other hand, in the Broken Hill District, but in the same main eastern culture region, such figures are usually pecked all over, a process also applied in some cases to the axes, apart from the edges which are polished. In the Kimberley, suitably shaped water-worn stones were selected, and the edges ground.

The author refers (p. 30) to the investigations conducted at the end of the last century into Australian customs which differed only in detail 'over all those parts of the continent where life was still maintained intact from external influence.' But why stop at 1900? The research carried out for the Australian National Research Council since 1926 in such 'intact' parts in northern Kimberley, north-east Arnhem Land, Cape York Peninsula and the desert areas, has thrown much new light on Aboriginal culture, in some cases of importance to Miss Levy's thesis. Thus, I agree with what she seems to imply as a result of her application (pp. 34f.) of the quiescence of Durkheim's interpretation of totemism: that totemic belief and ritual in Australia arose out of man's relationship to nature. This was one of complete dependence, and of economic

(food-gathering) adjustment according to the carrying capacity of the continent, district by district. But that is not the whole story, and Miss Levy is not on sure ground in suggesting that Australian Palaeolithic culture, which 'had received so few accretions from without' (p. 30), had a remote, if not Pleistocene, origin, especially as she refers particularly to the spiritual elements of that culture. Quite apart from special forms of burial ritual, such as tree-stage exposure with delayed disposal of the bones in the north-west and 'mummification' in the east, there is the whole institution of secret-cult religion of the 'mystery' type, which had spread all over Australia, with, however, some variations. The entry to this was, and is, through a series of initiation rites, the central theme of which is death and being made 'a man.' The rite of making a medicine-man (or man of 'high degree') is an even more startling example of this theme. The postulant is killed and then cut open so as to receive new 'insides,' before being raised and taken to the sky.¹



FIG. 1. THE MOTHER TRENCH, ARNHEM LAND

Engraved on the walls of the trench (*runabibi*) is the representation of the Rainbow Serpent. The charred remains of the Rainbow symbol can also be seen

There is no room here to describe the acts and symbols which express this theme. It is complex and similar to secret-society ritual elsewhere. Incidentally, several parts of initiation in some tribes do take place in the general camp, including tooth-avulsion and circumcision (p. 53). The revelation of symbols and secret rites, however, is made in seclusion.

Even more interesting is the 'Fertility Goddess' cult, the 'Old Woman' or 'Mother' in Arnhem Land, which we have been studying in quite recent times. An important theme in this consists of 'throwing' the novice (who has already been through a first degree) into the 'Old Woman,' whose womb is symbolized by a semi-circular trench (see fig. 1). A bull-roarer, called by her name,

and also representing her womb, her 'shade,' becomes tenanted by his 'shade' (his second or 'wood shade') as he swings it. At the end of the ceremony it is buried in the trench, his spirit later leaving it to return to his spirit home, there to wait for the other soul to leave the body after death and the final burial ritual. The 'Mother' is associated with a great snake, often the Rainbow Serpent. I have seen his representation engraved on both walls of the 'Mother' trench. A large symbol of him is also made, which at the end of the ceremony is burnt in this trench.

The necessary comparative work has not been done, but because of its distribution and the content of its mythology, I suggest that this cult was diffused into Australia through Indonesia. As for Australian initiation rites in general, I consider that they spread to Australia by the same route—the chief variations in detail such as the Bora type, usually with tooth-avulsion, and the circumcision ritual spreading respectively from the north-east and the north-west. In other words, similarity between ceremonies in Aboriginal Australia and elsewhere does not necessarily mean independent evolution or a common heritage from very remote times. The link may be cultural and comparatively recent.

Miss Levy is apt to yield to the temptation of reading into similarities meanings related to her own thesis. So the witchetty-grub totemites proceed along a 'winding path in memory, they say, of the first endeavours of the divine ancestors to reach the earth' (p. 36). But the phrase 'to reach the earth' is introduced by the author, as is also the 'winding path,' from non-Australian contexts. The 'great leader' was already on the earth. The totemites simply follow his path.² That path would meander a bit because, be he man or grub in the Australian bush, he does not follow a straight line. There are obstacles in the way. At any rate, he is not dodging nor concealing his route. On the other hand, I could give Miss Levy sound examples of this 'meandering' and misleading approach to sacred places.

Incidentally, the 'egg-pebbles and the churingas' are not thrown against the sacred rock, nor are the churingas 'sacred houses' (p. 36). The reference to the initiation of girls (p. 37) is an error. It is doubtful too whether the churingas are believed 'to hold in union divinity, animal and man—including the recent dead and those awaiting incarnation.' Certainly the spirits of the dead and the disincarnate are not divine. In this central region of Australia we are dealing with a hero and ancestral cult, but any hero or ancestor is likely to be reincarnated, and also to be invisibly present at a ritual.

The author has confused the material on the Northern Kimberley (pp. 36f.). The tribe is the Ungarinyin, not the Karadjeri, which is a long way south.³ Moreover, the hero of each of the Ungarinyin cave paintings is not the rainbow serpent, but Wondjina, one of a group of cult heroes who are said to come from the sea. The doctrine of the rainbow serpent, however, is also held, being another mythological stratum; as usual, he is associated with the birth of spirit children. Wondjina, however, is not the female rainbow serpent (p. 40). Further, the images of the rainbow serpent to which Miss Levy refers (p. 38) were in the Forrest River district, outside the Wondjina cult area; the old women knew of the purpose of the paintings in one gallery there, and one old woman claimed that she retouched the rainbow-serpent painting in another gallery. Further, the increase rites in which some women take part in this district are not held in caves; moreover, they are very simple in form, and are very different from the increase rituals of the Northern Territory.⁴

It should be made clear that the use of the term 'chamber-wall' (p. 37) for these rock-shelter paintings makes the similarity to the European Palaeolithic cave paintings much closer than it is. Usually these paintings are visible from a distance if one knows which way to approach them. I know only of four cases so far in which nothing is seen until one has gone inside a cave. I would also hesitate to interpret symbols which appear on these rock paintings, until I had discussed them with the initiated. There is no authority for saying that the signs on the Bradshaw painting (Levy, p. 38, and Plate IIIa) represent to the Australians 'the point of contact between the worlds.' The Bradshaw type of paintings have never been studied. I am, however, expecting material on them from one of my recent fieldworkers.

I think too, that Miss Levy's interpretation of the Wollunqua ground drawing (pp. 50f., Plate IIIa) is too free. The text in Spencer and Gillen does not say the snake was aided in his final descent, but that he was struck and driven down. Here too the 'winding path' (p. 50) is not necessarily of esoteric meaning, for a snake's track is always wavy.

In making the above comments I am not discrediting Miss Levy's general ritual hypothesis. I have held something similar from 1928 when I was first in the field. Many of her phrases are suggestive and illuminative. We must not, however, go beyond the facts. Fortunately, the facts have increased in number during the past twenty years. They are hinted at, or some of them given, in articles in *Oceania* and in my *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*. Later, many more will be published.

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Notes

¹ A. P. Elkin, *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*; also *The Australian Aborigines—How to Understand Them*, pp. 220–230.

² Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 172.

³ See Miss Levy's authority, J. G. Frazer, *Totemica*, or better still, the latter's source, *Oceania Monograph No. 2, Studies in Australian Totemism*, pp. 68–72, by A. P. Elkin. Lévy-Bruhl made the same mistake, *La Mythologie Primitive*, pp. 146f.

⁴ Phyllis Kaberry, 'The Forrest River and Lyne River Tribes,' *Oceania*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 431f.

The Ancient Egyptians and the Hamites. Cf. MAN, 1949,

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BO SIR,—Lord Raglan's letter deserves an answer because we differ in a matter of some general interest—not in the knowledge of certain facts of which he supposes me to be ignorant, but in our approach to cultural history. In summarizing my views Lord Raglan either succumbs to the spell of his own convictions or he misreads me; in any case, I do not attribute similarities between 'the king cult and the cattle cult of Egypt' and 'those of the Upper Nile and East Africa' to 'the community of race between the Egyptians and such "Hamites" as the Shilluk and Baganda.' I am not concerned with racial descent at all but with cultural continuity, having increasingly found that the facts of physical anthropology have but a limited relevance to those of history. The perspective in which the distribution of races—and, for that matter, of Palaeolithic implements—is discerned, differs so much in scale from historical perspective that, for the present, the two cannot be co-ordinated. To be specific, the arrival of Caucasians in north-east Africa and the Asiatic origin of domestic animals antedate by some unspecified interval the earliest coherent remains of culture found in the Fayum, at Deir Tasa, at Badari and elsewhere. The presence of those men and animals must therefore be taken for granted in any probing of the immediate prehistoric antecedents of Egyptian civilization; and when I referred to 'indigenous' African beliefs and customs and to an 'early' Hamitic substratum, I did not question possible links with Asia in a more distant and, so far, unconnected past.

It goes without saying that the postulate of a Hamitic substratum is a matter of surmise, and I should be glad if ethnologists would test the strength of the evidence, and consider whether another hypothesis could account more economically for the astonishing similarities in material and spiritual culture between Ancient Egypt and some of our African contemporaries. But it is obvious that such a substratum, if it ever did exist and if it could still be recognized at this distance in time, could only appear in the form of scattered survivals among people now differentiated thoroughly in respect of culture, language and race. There is, therefore, no occasion for strictures on my 'picking out' isolated features, and no force in the objection that 'many tribes show no trace of anything like the Osiris cult.' Moreover, kingship or cattle do not play the part of 'isolated' customs or beliefs, among the Shilluk or the Masai or the Baganda, but are, on the contrary, preponderant integrating factors in their societies.

I may have caused misunderstanding by the mere fact of referring to the incidence of a non-negroid physique among Hamites and

half-Hamites. But I nowhere suggested a necessary correlation between race and culture. I used the appearance of pre-Arab Mediterranean types among East Africans as a demonstration *ad oculos* of precisely such an age-old, unbroken but largely submerged continuity as I was postulating. In other words, I treated the incidence of Hamitic physique on a par with that of such similarities as, say, the ivory armrings of the Masai show compared with those found in an Egyptian 1st-to-3rd-Dynasty tomb at Shellal.

Since Lord Raglan refers to *Races of Africa* it should be remembered that for Seligman too the problem of the Hamites was not merely one of physical anthropology. Already in 1913 he had formulated the problem in a manner which, I think, is still valid, when he wrote, in 'Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' (*J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII (1913), p. 682):

'In view of the great area concerned in this enquiry and the various stages of development of the peoples considered, remembering also the ethnic and religious floods by which it has been submerged, either partially or completely, since the time—some six thousand years ago—of the proto-Egyptians, I do not hesitate to suggest that the customs and beliefs examined show such a substantial agreement as can be explained best by the assumption that the peoples discussed either represent the descendants of that stock that gave rise to the proto-Egyptians or have been permeated by its influence. If this be agreed, it is permissible to seek to reconstruct the early Hamitic culture from those ideas and customs which are common to Hamites, half-Hamites and Nilotes. A common measure of these can be stated, and this may be considered to outline the beliefs of the early Hamites.'

Kimberidge, Dorset

H. FRANKFORT

An Ancient Ivory Figure from Rhodesia

131 Sir,—The enclosed photograph depicts an ivory statuette recently found at Khami Ruins near Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. The figure has been carved from a piece of elephant ivory and is 16.7 cm. high overall. It is almost complete, although so much of the left arm is missing that the position of the forearm is problematical. The projection from the lower abdomen has four grooves in its underside which correspond to the convention for fingers and toes on other limbs; it is not impossible therefore that the left hand covered the pubic region. A groove runs down the centre of the back from shoulder to buttocks.

The lower end of the pillar on which the figure is squatting has been hollowed to form a socket on the outside of which is a loop. The object may possibly have been mounted on a staff and secured by a lashing through the loop. The general appearance of the figure suggests a foetus, but this may well be a fortuitous resemblance owing to the shape of the head and limbs.

This relic was found by Mr. K. Radcliffe-Robinson during excavations now being undertaken by him for the Southern Rhodesian Monuments Commission. It lay in a deposit in the centre of one of the minor buildings which comprise Khami Ruins and was associated with cultural material common throughout the ruins: undecorated black hand-made pottery described by Caton-Thompson (*The Zimbabwe Culture*, 1931, p. 53) as Zimbabwe B and classified by Schofield (*Primitive Pottery*, 1948, pp. 113ff.) with his R₂ type which he ascribes to the Rozwi, whose hereditary chiefs (Mambo) traditionally occupied these ruins. Besides pottery there were found fragments of a wound copper (or bronze) wire bracelet and beads closely resembling those found in Venda 'Fortified Hill' Sites in the Northern Transvaal.

Native tradition asserts that the ruins were destroyed possibly in the early nineteenth century A.D. and never reoccupied. This has been confirmed by excavation, so that the age of the figure is likely to be about 200 years.

Although other carved ivory pieces have been found at Khami they are all small and this piece stands alone in importance both ethnographically and artistically. Apart from amulets at Zimbabwe

and elsewhere and a fragmentary figure from Dholo-dhlo ivory has not been found in Rhodesian ruins.

I have so far been unable to trace any exact ethnographical parallel and would be glad to hear if any such is known.

ROGER SUMMERS
Keeper of Antiquities

National Museum of Northern Rhodesia,
Bulawayo



FIG. 1. AN ANCIENT IVORY FIGURE FROM KHAMI RUINS,
SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Photograph: Bulawayo Chronicle

Correction: MAN, 1949, 73

132 Dr. Audrey Richards writes to say that in her review of Professor Linton's book *The Cultural Background of Personality* (1947) the date of his earlier book, *The Study of Man*, was inadvertently given as 1940. It was, of course, published in 1936.



(a-d) TOBACCO CASES FROM HOKKAIDO



(e-h) TOBACCO CASES FROM SAGHALIEN

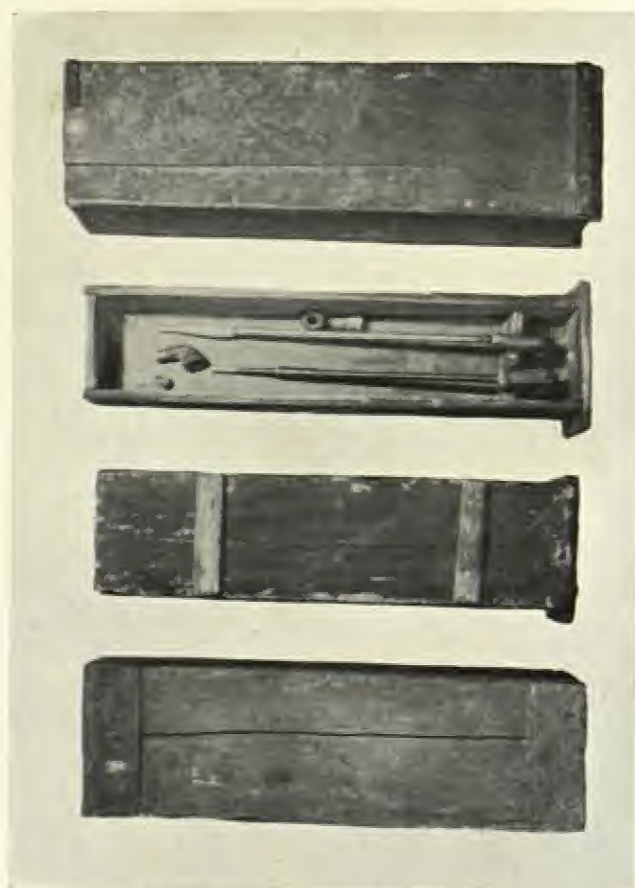
*Photographs by Tozuka, Archaeological Institute,
Tokyo Imperial University*



(i-o) PIPES FROM SAGHALIEN (p, q) CIGARETTE PIPES



(r-t) TINDER CASES WITH FLINT AND STEEL



(u-w) WOODEN PILLOWS

SMOKING AMONG THE AINU*

by

DR. MOSES OSAMU BABA

Tokyo

133 The Ainu are divided by anthropologists into three groups: the Yezo Ainu (Yezo being another name for Hokkaido) inhabiting Hokkaido as far as Idorof Island; the Saghalien Ainu inhabiting southern Saghalien; and the Kurile Ainu living on the Kurile Isles from Urup to Shumushu Island (and on Shikotan Island since 1884). The Ainu have been inveterate smokers and several kinds of outfits for smoking survived until recent times among their traditional articles of daily use. However, the Japanese collected Ainu tobacco cases so thoroughly for many years that we could hardly find a single one among their villages even twenty years ago. But fortunately I have been able to collect some of their smoking implements, and this article is chiefly based on my own collections.

The Ainu smoking outfit consisted of tobacco cases, pipes, tinder cases, flint and steel, ashtrays and wooden pillows.

Tobacco Cases

Ainu tobacco cases were mostly made of wood. Since the introduction of tobacco into Japan, Japanese men have ordinarily used leather and women silk cases, wooden ones being used only among the peasants and labourers. Probably the Ainu imitated the Japanese type at first and then developed their own special form, the so-called Ainu type. I will not describe here the several methods of making them. The forms of the cases in Yezo and Saghalien differed somewhat from each other, the Saghalien variety probably retaining the primitive form. Three cases from Hiraka, Hokkaido, are shown in Plate L a-c, and this form is, so far as I know, typical of the Yezo Ainu. It is normally higher than it is wide. These cases consist of two parts, the case proper and a pipe-holder, which was always worn in the girdle by Ainu when carrying their tobacco cases. Each holder has a hole in which the pipe bowl rests and a long, slender groove on its inner side to take the pipe stem. These holders were usually engraved on the outer side with decorative designs (as seen here). The case is attached to the pipe-holder by two strings and there is usually a glass bead, or other small ornament of wood or of deer horn, which also serves to secure the lid.

When Ainu went hunting, they always carried less elaborate tobacco cases such as that shown in Plate L d, collected in one of the Hiraka Ainu villages. The cover, shaped like a paper bag, is longer than its case and is of birch bark.

In Plate L e-h are illustrated four tobacco cases without pipe-holders, from the Saghalien Ainu at Tarandomari. They told me that they did not usually use them except during the bear festival, and so discarded the holders. This type of case so resembles the normal Japanese form that it

probably preserves the original form. There is less engraved decoration on the outside of the case than among the Yezo Ainu: some have simple designs only on the upper and lower borders, others no designs at all, or bone ornaments inserted in the middle of the side of the case or on the lid. That shown as h belonged to a Kurile Ainu after the removal to Shikotan Island in 1884. Its form is typically Japanese, but the outer surface is engraved with the typical Kurile design.

Pipes

The only pipes made by the Ainu themselves were the stone pipe bowls (*shima kiseri*) of the Saghalien Ainu and wooden pipes. The Yezo Ainu also had stone pipe bowls in former days; they were often found from new pits in Hokkaido. The metal pipe bowls and mouthpieces with bamboo stems were all imported goods; the Yezo Ainu mostly got them from Japanese, and the Saghalien Ainu from Manchurians. Among the Saghalien Ainu the exchange value of one Manchurian pipe in 1809 was one marten. Wooden pipes were mostly used among Ainu women; they made them from branches of *Hydrangea paniculata* Sieb (*opsha*). Plate L i-o shows seven pipes which I collected at Tarandomari village in Saghalien. Some of our anthropologists have regarded these stone pipe bowls as imported goods from Manchuria, but I was told by many old Saghalien Ainu that they were of their own manufacture. They carved them from soft stone with their knives. I have a conclusive specimen of an unfinished pipe bowl at the first stage of manufacture. Ainu at Tofutsu told me that there are many good stones for this purpose on the bottom of the Tofutsu River; this stone may be shale.

(i) The border of the pipe bowl is incised with one dotted line and the mouthpiece is of Chinese manufacture. Its length is about 36 cm.

(j) One straight line is incised on the bowl and there is a slightly projecting, decorative flat plate on its base on which a design in the form of seven mountains is carved; the mouthpiece is Chinese.

(k) The bowl is of the same type as the last; an undulating line is carved round its border; the mouthpiece is Chinese. I think the same types of stone pipe bowls were probably used among the tribes near the mouth of the Amur River.

(l) Though this is in form a Chinese type, a Japanese trade mark is incised on the bowl. It is actually a Japanese imitation of a Chinese pipe. Since the Tokugawa Government, there have been many manufacturers of trade goods for the Ainu in Yedo (Tokyo), Osaka and other towns.

(m) This is a typical Chinese pipe.

(n) This is a typical Japanese pipe.

(o) This is a typical Ainu woman's pipe made of wood. The bowl of this type was ordinarily very big. Two decorative bone tubes are inserted at the end of the stem. The mouthpiece is silver and carved with an owl design. It may have belonged to some rich Ainu wife. The owl was the symbol of a benevolent village god. Wooden pipes were mostly used among women.

* With Plate L and a text figure

but I also have a man's pipe of this kind with a small bowl. They also had cigarette pipes in more recent use.

(p) This is a cigarette pipe of the Kurile Ainu on Shikotan Island, made about forty years ago from a seal's tooth.

(q) This is a wooden cigarette pipe of the Hitaka Ainu in Hokkaido.

Tinder Cases

There were probably many kinds of tinder cases in use among the Ainu; in Plate L *r-t* I have collected two kinds which were used by the Saghalien Ainu at Tarandomari. On the left (*r*) is a rectangular case made of grass fibre, 16 cm. long and 11 cm. wide. A typical Ainu design is woven in brown-dyed grass on the outside of the cover. There is a cotton cord attached to the centre of the lower edge of the cover to bind up the case. A long cotton cord from both ends of the upper edge of the case was used as a sling to carry it on the shoulder. The flint and steel found in this case are illustrated immediately below it. The middle one (*s*) is a leather case with a steel. From its form, I do not think it is a true Ainu tinder case, but more probably one imitated from some tribe near the mouth of the Amur River. A flint was found in the case. There are two leather cords through two holes on both lower edges of the upper case. There is also a small ornament of deer horn through which pass two cords as with the tobacco cases. They sometimes used two or three pieces of hole coin for this purpose, or again small round leather plates in imitation of hole coins.

Flint and Steel

The Ainu name for flint and steel is *piuchi*, apparently a corruption of the Japanese *hiuchi* which has the same meaning. Plate L *t* shows one of traditional Yezo Ainu manufacture. The small cylindrical object with the steel is of deer horn hollowed out through its whole length. Into it they put finely powdered charcoal. The Japanese have used Poulownia-wood charcoal from ancient times, but I do not know what kind the Ainu used. Besides charcoal the Ainu sometimes used dry pieces of decayed wood. Such implements are found in their graves. This specimen belonged to an Ainu at Abuta near Muroran in Hokkaido; the total length of the steel is 5.5 cm. The steel with the leather case (*s*) is a Manchurian steel obtained by trade and not a true ainu one. The one seen at the left below the grass case (*r*) is, from its form, a Japanese type of the Tokugawa period; and the steel, which is a broken file, is inserted into a wooden handle and a flint is seen with it in the picture. This kind of implement was owned only by old Ainu, but almost all of them were thrown away after the introduction of matches, and they became very hard to collect. I was very fortunate to obtain any. Some specimens from graves are exhibited in the museum of Hokkaido University.

Ashtrays

Two ashtrays are shown in Fig. 1. The right-hand one was found on a bear-festival altar at Nietoi in Saghalien; it is a natural stone 15 cm. long with a central hollow. The one at the left belonged to an Ainu at Taraika,

Saghalien. It is fixed to a decorative wooden stand by three nails; it also is a natural stone with a hollow and the total length of the wooden stand is about 20 cm. In the past they have been misinterpreted as stone lamps by some of our archaeologists. We should rather regard them as in the nature of fire pans for smoking than as being merely for the shaking of ash off tobacco. The Saghalien Ainu called them *unchi-omap* (*unchi*, fire; *omap*, a hearth). According to the *Kita Jezo Zusesu*:¹ 'On severely cold days in winter, Ainu warm themselves around fire on the earth floor in a pit, as it is generally warm inside a pit and less heating apparatus is needed. However, they have only one stone



FIG. 1. AINU STONE ASHTRAYS

implement, called *unchi-omap*, on which they keep fire for smoking.' They have also been excavated from the most recent pits, and I have found such a piece² in a pit at Taraika.

Wooden Pillows

Ainu pillows were mostly of wood. In Japan until fifty or sixty years ago every woman used a cylindrical cloth pillow on a wooden stand; I cannot say whether there was any relation between this and the Ainu wooden pillow. The Ainu man's pillow in particular had a drawer in which several pipes, unused pipe bowls and mouthpieces and some tobacco were kept; it was thus a smoking implement for use in bed at night. Three of these wooden pillows are shown in Plate L *u-w*. The first (*u*) belonged to a Saghalien Ainu at Nietoi and is about 50 cm. long, 13.5 cm. wide and 10.5 cm. high. At each end of the flat top surface is a narrow wooden batten. In the drawer (seen immediately below) are two pipes on a rest and some unused pipe bowls. The second belonged to a Taraika Ainu; he rested his head between the two narrow wooden battens nailed on the top surface. A design is incised on the top close to the drawer mouth. The third was collected from a Porosaru Ainu, Hitaka, Hokkaido. It has a decorative wooden plate at each end of the top surface.

Smoking Etiquette

Of the three separate groups of Ainu, the Saghalien Ainu have best preserved their traditional customs till

recent times, and this applies also to smoking. When an Ainu called on another Ainu, the master of the house customarily offered the visitor a smoke, by way of hospitable welcome. First of all, the master put tobacco into the bowl of a pipe. After he had had a smoke himself, he handed it very politely to the visitor by its front, with one hand on the bowl and the other on the mouthpiece, and the visitor took it from the master in the same very careful way. They always used stone pipe bowls, called *shima kiseri* (*shima*, stone; *kiseri*, a pipe) and regarded them as precious family treasures. For the visitor to happen to drop one of these stone pipe bowls from its stem on to the floor was regarded as an insult to the head of the family. Sometimes large damages were demanded for such breaches of good behaviour. For this reason, when a Saghalien Ainu was handed a pipe by the master of a house, he became very careful and held it very tightly with both hands, to avoid dropping it. I was told by many old Ainu there, that if anyone bore visitors ill will, he would heat the pipe bowls as hot as possible before handing the pipes to them. If they dropped them, the owner made this the excuse for provoking a quarrel (*charanke*), sometimes demanding costly indemnities. This kind of stone pipe bowl is only joined by a string to the stem and fixed in it very loosely. I have not found this manner of smoking among the Ainu in Hokkaido. I think that they probably had it in ancient times, but have forgotten it long since.

The Introduction of Tobacco among the Ainu

The questions of how and when tobacco was introduced into the Ainu land are still unresolved. I have discussed them in a paper in the *Kodai-Bunka*³ (*Ancient Culture*) for 1942. Two hypotheses are possible: that it was introduced from the Japanese to the Yezo Ainu and thence to the Saghalien Ainu; or that it came from Manchuria to the Saghalien Ainu and thence to the Yezo Ainu.

I have found pipe bowls and mouthpieces in a number of pits on the northern Kurile Islands during my five expeditions there; but these are among the latest of the pits, dating from after the Russian invasion. Before the Russians annexed Kamchatka, the northern Kurile Ainu used to obtain Japanese iron pots, steel needles, cotton and swords in exchange for their eagle feathers and seal furs, the Yezo Ainu on Idorof Island in the southern Kuriles acting as intermediaries. There may well have been some tobacco among these trade goods.

According to Radlinski,⁴ the Kurile Ainu called tobacco *tambuko* and pipes *kiseri*. As far as tobacco is concerned, I consider that the Kurile Ainu had earlier relations with the Yezo Ainu than with the Russians. The Ainu in both Hokkaido and Saghalien called tobacco *tambako* and pipes *kiseri*, but for pipes they also have their own word *serenbo*. Most modern Japanese pronounce tobacco *tabako*; however, people in the mountain sections of northern Honshu (the main island of Japan) still pronounce it *tambako*, and during the Tokugawa period, after the introduction of tobacco, all Japanese pronounced it so. We call Japanese pipes *kiseru* nowadays, but until lately people in Ise and Tosa districts pronounced it *kiseri* just as the Ainu did. It

seems clear, therefore, that *tambako* and *kiseri* were in use as Japanese words, following the introduction of tobacco into this country; but whether they were true Japanese words or of foreign origin is still to be determined. It is a reasonable assumption that the Ainu adopted such words as *tambako* and *kiseri* rather from the Japanese than from the Manchurians, though these did also bring tobacco to the Saghalien Ainu.

As I have said, the Saghalien Ainu had a definite etiquette for smoking, but so had we for some time after the introduction of smoking to the Ainu. The following description of the Japanese etiquette was published in the *Mezomashiso*,⁵ reprinted in 1814; in it an old man named Shinmi (he was eighty years old during the Kyoho period, 1716-1735) described the smoking etiquette in his youth during the periods of Manji and Kanbun (1656-1671):

In former days, we had no pocket tobacco, so when we called on anyone we had to smoke tobacco from the tobacco tray offered by the master of the house. The smoking etiquette was quite different from that of today. We could not smoke until the master came into the room; after saying a few words, he offered tobacco saying 'Please have a smoke' two or three times, in the same way as when offering a cup of tea or a glass of sake, and then putting paper on the mat. Next, taking up a pipe, he removed from the stem near the mouthpiece the small round guard used to keep the mouthpiece off the mat when the pipe is not in use. He put tobacco into the pipe bowl and cleaned the mouthpiece with paper, and then politely offered the pipe to the visitor. While the visitor was smoking, he would say, 'This is good tobacco.' When he had finished smoking, he cleaned the mouthpiece with his paper and put it on the mat in front of his seat. When he said goodbye, he returned the pipe to the master's tray, and then when he was going to clean the mouthpiece again the master would always say 'Please leave it alone.' Nowadays we have no such smoking etiquette as before and smoke without manners.

It is my opinion that tobacco was first introduced directly into the Ainu land from the Japanese together with the typical Japanese smoking etiquette. But the Yezo Ainu forgot the etiquette a long time ago and it survived only (until lately) among the Saghalien Ainu. After the adoption of our etiquette, it probably changed gradually over a long period.

According to tradition, a Portuguese ship came in 1543 to a southern island named Tanegashima, introduced guns for the first time, and also brought the first tobacco with them. However, at that time tobacco had not yet been planted even in their mother country, Portugal, or in Spain. From a historical point of view, we have no authentic records about the first introduction of tobacco into Japan. But in the *Mezomashiso*, published about 1590, we find the word *tabakoya* meaning tobacconist. Therefore tobacco was probably first introduced into this country at some time in the Tensho period (1572-1591) by the *Nanbanjin* or Portuguese. It was in 1605, at the time of Hidetada, the second general of the Tokugawa Government, that tobacco was planted at Sakuranobanba, Nagasaki, for the first time; after that it spread rapidly all over the country. Father Girolamo de Angelis' account⁶ of Yezo (*Relazione del Regno di Iezo*) in 1616-1622, is the oldest authentic record of the Yezo Ainu in this country; he mentions their drinking but no smoking. However,

Captain Kuhn, a member of the expedition of Maarten Gerritsz Vries, a famous Dutch navigator, described smoking by the Ainu in several places in the Ainu land in his logbook in 1643.⁷ It is clear that at that time even the Ainu of remotest Saghalien, near Robben Island, had already learnt to smoke. Moreover, tobacco leaf was among the most important Japanese trade goods in dealings with the Ainu. One cannot help being surprised to find such historical evidence for smoking all over the Ainu land only thirty-eight years after tobacco was planted, for the first time in Japan, at Nagasaki.

Notes

¹ Rinzo Mamiya, *Kita Jezo Zuzetsu*, 1868.

² Osamu Baba and Masao Oka, 'The Archeological Investiga-

tions of Shumushu Island, Northern Kuril Isles, and Taraika, Saghalien,' *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Tokyo, 1938 (see illustration 22).

³ Osamu Baba, 'Tobacco among Ancient Aino in the Extreme Northern Sections of Japan,' *Kodai-Bunka*, Vol. 13, No. 11, Tokyo, 1942.

⁴ I. Radlinski, *Słownik Narzecza Aino*, Krakow, 1891.

⁵ *Mezamashiso*, a miscellany of curious information published in the Tokugawa period.

⁶ 'RELATIONE DIALCVNE cose cauate dalle lettere scritte ne gli anni 1619, 1620 & 1621 dal Giappone, al molto reu. in christo P. MVTIO VITELLESCHI, preposito Generale della compagnia di Giesy.' Father Angelis was an Italian monk, who came to Japan in 1602, visited Yezo four times between 1616 and 1622, and was killed by fire torture in Yedo (Tokyo) in 1623.

⁷ P. A. Leupe, *Reize van Maarten Gerritsz Vries in 1643 naar het Noorden en Oosten van Japan*, Amsterdam, 1858 (see the entries for June 9, July 4, 17 and 27, August 26 and 29 in 1643).

THE SURFACE FLINT IMPLEMENTS OF CYRENAICA*

by

WILLIAM WATSON

British Museum

134 In the summers of 1947 and 1948 an expedition from Cambridge led by Dr. C. B. M. McBurney reconnoitred the archaeology and the Pleistocene geology of the Cyrenaican coast between Tocra and Derna. In both its aspects the work was pioneering.¹ Flint implements were collected systematically in the course of intensive geological fieldwork. Since it comes from a region virtually unexplored hitherto, this unstratified and largely broadcast material deserves examination for the light it throws on problems awaiting solution. The conclusions reached by Mr. Richard Hey, the geological member of the expedition, are with his permission summarized below. They provide the background for the classification of the surface finds.

The escarpment of the limestone plateau called the Gebel Akhdar rises to a maximum height of about 400 metres. It is notched by numerous wadis, and in the area of the reconnaissance is seldom more than a kilometre inland from the shore. The narrow coastal belt between the escarpment and the sea is partly covered with thick, undulating sheets of alluvium spreading fanwise from the wadi mouths and consisting of gravels of various grades mixed with *terra rossa* and frequently indurated. Along the whole of the coastline from Tocra to Derna there are traces of an ancient shoreline raised five metres above the present sea level and undisturbed by subsidence. Above this shoreline an older one was found at heights varying between 16 and 25 metres above the modern sea, the variation being presumably due to land movement. Four other fossil shorelines were identified at still higher levels; these are still under study and do not concern us here.

Consolidated dune sands cover all the raised beaches. Along the modern shore complete fossil dunes occur at intervals, all resting on top of the beach and marine

erosion terrace of the five-metre sea and frequently extending below sea level, at places to a verifiable depth of 20 metres. These dunes were formed, therefore, after the sea had begun its retreat from the five-metre beach. Almost everywhere the dunes are overlain by the red gravel of the coastal alluvium, but occasionally the latter is found underneath the dunes or even interdigitates with them. Evidently the formation of the dunes and deposition of alluvium were contemporary, and alluvium continued to be laid down after the dunes had consolidated. The bulk of the alluvium itself seems to belong to the system of wadi fans already referred to, although some older consolidated alluvium may survive in places, since it is found capping escarpment spurs raised well above the general alluvium level.

The most interesting fluvial terraces were those examined in the Wadi Derna. From the point where this breaches the escarpment a terrace continuous with the main alluvial sheet is traceable for some distance upstream. The same wadi possesses another more impressive terrace at a higher level, the formation of which was shown to be very probably subsequent to the pause of the sea at the 16-to-25-metre level, though it remained uncertain whether it is older or younger than the five-metre beach. It must, however, be older than the main alluvial sheet, and is therefore to be placed in the interval between the 16-to-25-metre sea level and the beginning of the regression from five metres.²

The régime of violent erosion and deposition evidenced in the structure of the main alluvial sheet is sufficient explanation of the wide dispersal of artifacts on the surface. Distinct concentrations suggestive of limited habitation or working sites were rarely observed. The bulk of the material now strewn on the surface consists of flakes and cores of Middle Palaeolithic type, coarse, adiablastic flakes

* With two text figures

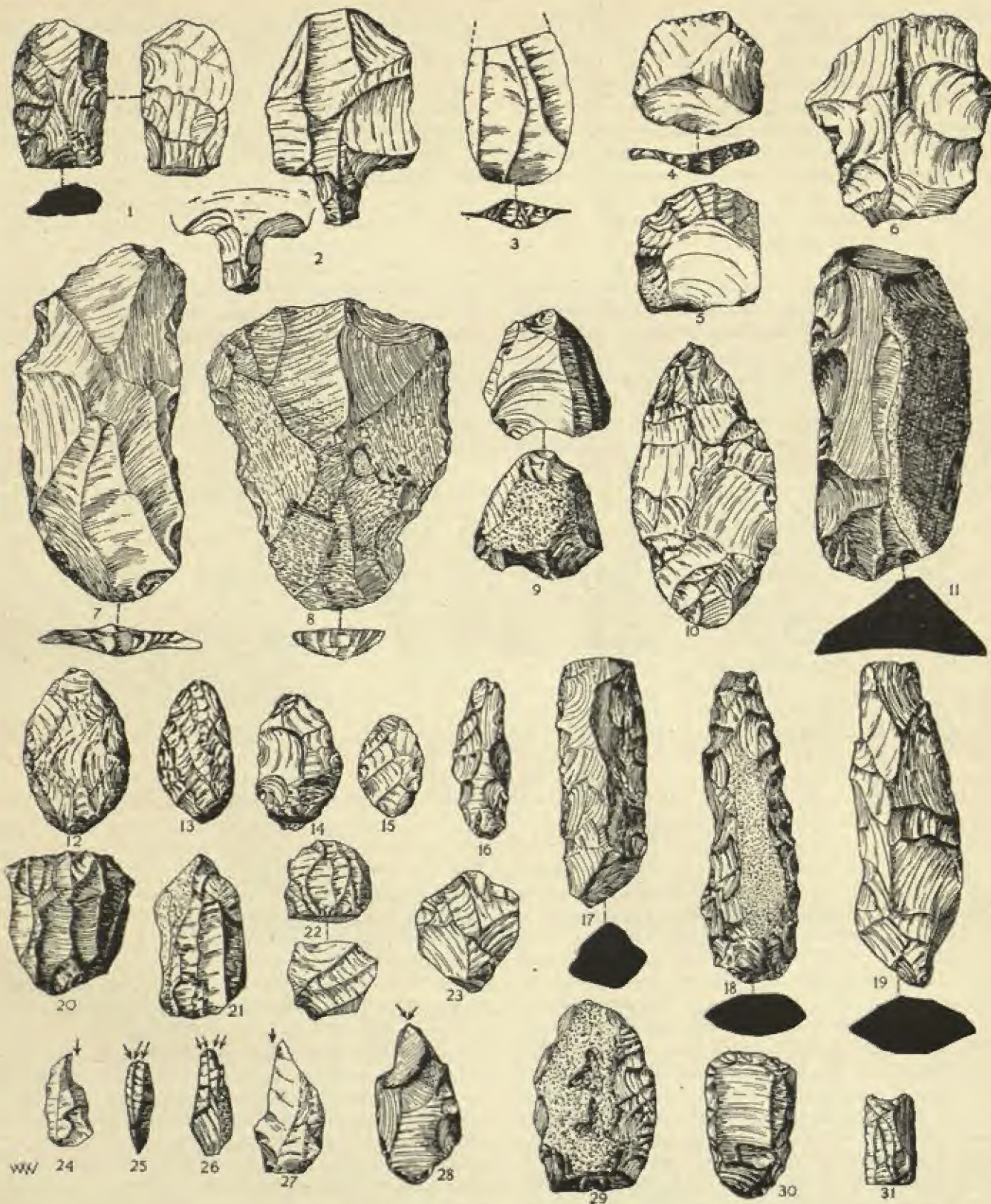


FIG. 1. SURFACE FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM CYRENAICA

1-3, bifacially trimmed fragment, Aterian point and faceted-butt flake found close together; 4, faceted-butt flake with nibbled distal edge; 5, 9, miniature tortoise cores, one with later lamellar scars; 6, multiple-flake core; 7, 8, 10, 11, faceted-butt flakes, bifacial foliate and side scraper; 12-16, small foliates; 17-19, picks; 20-23, microlithic blade cores; 24-28, burins; 29-31, scrapers. Find-places: 1-3, 19, 29, Ras Amar; 4, 6, 18, 21, 23, Tocra; 5, 12, 13, 16, 20, 27, 28, Derna; 7, 8, 10, 11, Locality 32 (see text); 9, Ras Hilal; 14, 24, Tolmeta; 15, 17, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, Apollonia.

Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$

with smooth striking platforms, bifacially trimmed foliates and blade industries of microlithic dimensions. Most of these pieces are patinated light grey, cream or reddish; a few, including some of Middle Palaeolithic type, have a rough, dark brown surface approximating to a 'desert patina,' and still rarer pieces are glossy white.

Lower Palaeolithic. Very few hand-axes were found on the surface of the alluvium.³ Their rarity is probably not to be regarded as a measure of the development of the Acheulian in the region, since one would expect a great part of such early material to have been destroyed in the torrent beds.

Middle Palaeolithic (fig. 1, nos. 1-11). Fairly numerous side scrapers of the Mousterian kind were found, but the majority of the faceted-butt flakes from the surface are Levalloisian in character, lacking Mousterian refinement. In this they resemble the numerous faceted-butt flakes which occur without distinction from top to bottom of the alluvium and were the only types found *in situ* in this deposit. One of the rare surface concentrations (recorded as Locality 32) was encountered about five kilometres west of Derna West Pass (39° 49' N 22° 29' E) on the erosion

Miniature tortoise cores were found scattered sparsely throughout the area and frequently measured as little as $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One specimen has been re-utilized as a microlithic blade core, the secondary lamellar scars having sufficiently lighter patina to show that the two treatments were not contemporary. A number of stray discoid multiple-flake cores averaging two to three inches across were collected, all having near marginal preparation and convergent scars. Two gigantic specimens from Locality 32, measuring 18 inches in diameter, are quite exceptional. The predominant flatness of both tortoise and disc cores is imposed by the local Eocene tabular flint. Normally nine-tenths of the reverse are left as cortex.

Among the faceted-butt flakes which were collected are a few specimens of stumpy proportions blunted by nibbling retouch on the distal edge. The Aterian point and the pieces illustrated with it in fig. 1, nos. 1-3, were found within a radius of a few yards on the marine terrace of the 16-to-25-metre level at Ras 'Amar. They are all identical in their state of preservation.

Blades and Microliths (fig. 2, nos. 1-5 and 7-11). Small conical, cylindrical and hoof-shaped cores picked up

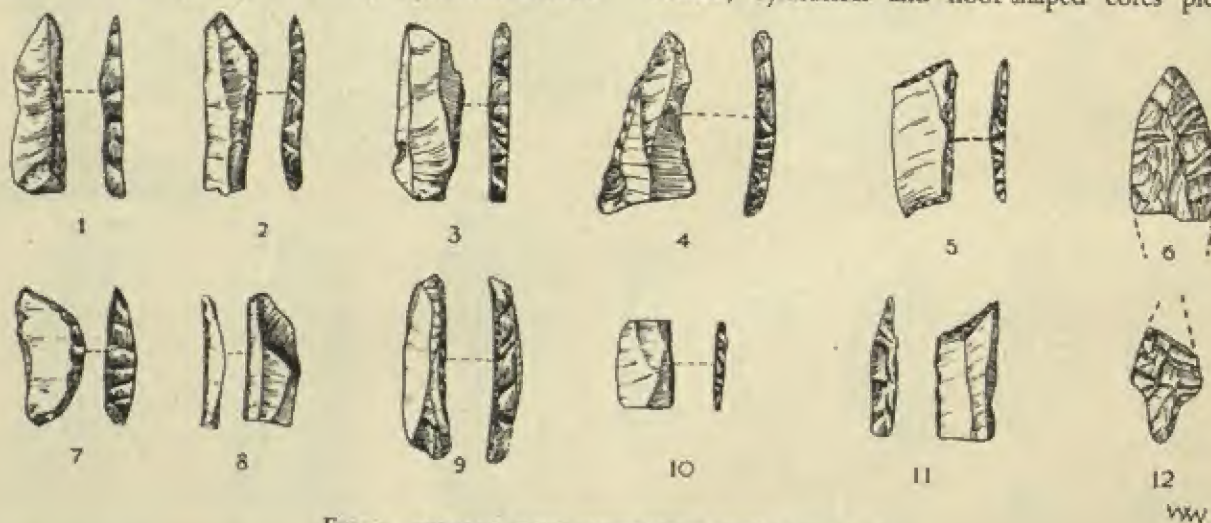


FIG. 2. SURFACE FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM CYRENAICA

Microliths: 1-4, 8-11, blunted-back blades; 5, blade blunted on back and on squared ends; 7, lunate. *Pressure-flaked pieces:* 6, 12, foliate and tanged points. *Find-places:* 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, Apollonia; 2, 3, 4, Derna; 5, 6, 12, on consolidated dune at Tocra. Scale: $\frac{3}{4}$.

platform of the five-metre sea level and only 80 metres from the modern shore. The industry consisted chiefly of an accomplished Levalloisian in which carefully trimmed tortoise cores were used to produce flakes of oval or sub-triangular outline with a broad working edge opposite the bulbar end. The exceptional pieces were a few bifacial foliates and some thick oblong scrapers with step-flaked retouch around the whole edge. All these categories include specimens with the dark 'desert patina.' But such evidence cannot be pressed, for another foliate and a finely trimmed unifacial point have a china-white surface reminiscent of 'loess patina.' Some pieces from Locality 32 and stray finds elsewhere attest elongated tortoise cores shaped to produce parallel-sided flakes and cordiform cores, yielding a sub-triangular pointed flake, which are the characteristic type farther east in the Egyptian desert.

regularly from Tocra to Derna attest a true microlithic blade industry widely dispersed along the coastal belt. The blunted-back bladelets are of two types, one with a curved edge and straight back and the other with a straight edge and a curved or angular back. Micro-burins exist, but are rare, and geometric microliths are all but absent, the only specimens collected from the surface being a parallelogram at Tolmeta and a coarse lunate at Apollonia. The blade industries are chiefly found on the surface of the consolidated coastal dunes (e.g. the two-kilometre stretch west from Tocra) and the lower slopes of the escarpment (e.g. $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres west of Apollonia).

Foliate (fig. 1, nos. 12-16). A large number of these, of various degrees of refinement, made by percussion flaking, are found throughout the area. They vary in size from one to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and have mostly a sym-

metrical oval outline with bluntly rounded ends. In some cases the oval is slightly asymmetrical, probably from their having been made on the breadth of the flake, the butt end forming one of the long sides of the oval, as is apparent in fig. 1, no. 12. Others are narrower and thicker, becoming approximately fusiform, as fig. 1, no. 16. None of these types is ever sharply pointed.

Burins (fig. 1, nos. 24-28). Very few of these were found. They are mostly *becs de flûte* and none resembles the angle burins characteristic of the blade industries of North-West Africa.

Scrapers (fig. 1, Nos. 29-31). Side scrapers of Mousterian type are found, mostly of coarse workmanship, and small round scrapers are numerous. End scrapers formed on blades seem to be absent, nor indeed do blades of suitable dimensions appear to have been produced in the microlithic blade industries of the region. Squat oblong scrapers like fig. 1, no. 31, are occasionally to be found in localities where the blade industries appear. In the centre of the squared end of three of these is a notch which may be a deliberate feature.

Picks (fig. 1, nos. 17-19). More or less elongated pieces with coarse bifacial working are common on the alluvium surface. No. 18 is an example of more careful workmanship.⁴

Pressure-flaked pieces (fig. 2, nos. 6 and 12). These are very rare. Two small tanged arrowheads of the normal 'Saharan Neolithic' type were found on the surface of the consolidated dune near Tocra, within a few feet of a fragment of a pressure-flaked foliate point. Another pressure-flaked fragment, possibly of a sickle, was picked up on the field surface near Tocra.

Chronology and Typology

The only significant points in the distribution of these surface finds are the concentration of a mass of largely homogeneous artifacts on the erosion terrace of the five-metre sea level (Locality 32) and the abundance of blade industries on the surface of the consolidated dune. A point of departure, chronological and typological, was provided by the discovery of stratified material at the base of the fluvial terrace near the mouth of Wadi Gahham, a tributary of the Wadi Derna. The terrace is continuous with the higher terrace of the latter wadi. The flint industry, which includes points with fine retouch, is virtually identical with the Lower Levalloiso-Mousterian of Mount Carmel.⁵

The industry of Locality 32 is distinguished from it by its greater size and coarseness, its specialization in broad flakes instead of points, the extreme rarity of retouch and possibly the inclusion of foliates. Yet Locality 32, by its relation to the five-metre shoreline, must be considerably later than the Wadi Gahham site and must equate *grosso modo* with the coarse Levalloisian included in the alluvium. Flake points closely comparable to the Gahham pieces were not in fact collected on the surface. The foliates from Locality 32 are larger than the typical surface specimens. The Aterian point from Ras 'Amar is a singleton, but it should

be noted that neither Gahham nor Locality 32 produced any pieces with even the suggestion of a tang. A survey of the surface collection leads to the conclusion that a Levalloisian tradition, as distinct from Mousterian, predominated in the region. The miniature tortoise cores are probably a development of this tradition, as they are at Kharga and Sebil. The squat faceted-butt flakes with distal retouch like fig. 1, no. 4, are reminiscent of Miss Caton-Thompson's Levalloiso-Khargan industry.⁶

These signs of complex Middle Palaeolithic traditions are, of course, paralleled in other parts of Libya. Graziosi⁷ gives the fullest synthesis of the deductions of Italian archaeologists, which are based on the analysis of surface material. He recognizes both a pure Levalloisian and a much rarer pure Mousterian. But he concludes that the dominant flake tradition is that which he terms *mustero-solutreano*, i.e. the combination of flake points and side scrapers with bifacially worked implements of foliate or larger amygdaloid outline. He says that surface sites in the Fezzan and elsewhere vouch clearly for this association, and that Petrocchi's excavations in the Hagfet et Tera in the Bengasina furnish stratified confirmation.⁸ This is the widespread African tradition which embraces the Still Bay and accounts for the S'baikian. In Libya he regards it as probably inseparable from the Aterian. Our Cyrenaican material furnishes no comment on the Aterian question beyond its presence in the region. The Gahham site, which approximates more closely to a Mousterian, lacks foliates, while at Locality 32, where the foliates are possibly to be reckoned in with the flake industry, the latter is definitely Levalloisian in character.

In Cyrenaica the Middle Palaeolithic tradition is clearly succeeded by a blade culture, which at the moment of its appearance seems already to have reached an evolved stage. In the Wadi Derna, at El Hagg Creiem at the junction with the Wadi Gahham, a concentrated site of the blade culture was found on the surface of the high terrace. On the surface of the consolidated dune remains of the same culture, as already noted, are relatively abundant and pieces of Middle Palaeolithic character are very rare. Although no stratified industry was found to link with the geological sequence, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the blade culture entered the region after the consolidation of the coastal dune, and therefore during or later than the period of low sea level succeeding the stabilization at the five-metre shoreline. A blade industry similar to that collected from the surface was excavated by the expedition from a cave, Hagfet ed Dabba,⁹ near the Cyrene-Barce road 41 kilometres west of Cyrene. Here also geometric pieces (lunates), burins and micro-burins were very rare. On the other hand, the upper of the two levels of the blade culture at Hagfet et Tera produced abundant lunates. The composition of the different facies of the blade tradition is a matter for future research, but it already seems very probable that they are distinct from the Capsian and Oranian complex of north-west Africa, in which angle burins and latterly a variety of geometric microliths are prominent. The absence of developed geometricism in the Cyrenaican industries suggests equally that in this region

the final Levallois did not complete the evolution seen at Kom Ombo, the type station of the Sebilian,¹⁰ even if the diminution of the tortoise-core technique hints that the trend was at first in the same direction. Graziosi speaks of a few blunted-back blades of Châtelperronian type found in the Bengasina. These would represent a tradition distinct from the one we have discussed and raise the possibility of westward connexions with the Lower Capsian. Châtelperronian types, however, were not found in the area of the expedition's reconnaissance.

In the Libyan interior industries with 'Neolithic' types supervene directly on the flake tradition. To account for the absence of blade and burin industries one must suppose either that desiccation induced a cultural gap or that the flake tradition survived late. The only piece of evidence bearing on the lower dating of the blade industries in Cyrenaica was the occurrence of a single pressure-flaked arrowhead and some rare sherds of hand-made pottery in the same level as the blade industry at Haqfet ed Dabba. This evidence of a late date will require confirmation, but it indicates the possibility of a flake tradition persisting as late in the coastal part of Cyrenaica as in the interior. To use Graziosi's term 'Upper Palæolithic' to describe the blade industries would be to beg the question as far as Cyrenaica is concerned. It is relevant to note that under the heading 'Mesolithic' he refers to blade industries found in the Fezzan which lack Palæolithic characters and include arrowheads and polished axes. In the Wadi Zigza a surface site produced microlithic blunted-back blades and several micro-burins, while micro-burins were found associated with Neolithic flint types on the surface sites of Wadi Masauda.

The remaining categories of the surface collection require

little comment. No site was found which might enable one to infer with certainty the composition of the stone equipment of the full Neolithic culture of the region. Haqfet ed Dabba hints that blades and microliths may have survived; in addition to the pressure-flaked points from the consolidated dune, some picks and other rough bifacially worked pieces found on the alluvium surface can be isolated as probable Neolithic types. No doubt much of the abundant surface scatter of untrimmed flakes with smooth butts is also referable to the same period. Whether the small percussion-flaked foliates are a development from the local Middle Palæolithic tradition or were introduced with the microlithic blade culture, or even with a culture of the full Neolithic, remains uncertain. No implements of polished stone were found.

Notes

¹ A summary of the work done in 1947 is published in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, Vol. XIV (1948), pp. 33ff.

² This geological information is based on work done in both 1947 and 1948 and is therefore fuller than that given in the article mentioned in Note 1. The definitive account of the geological results of the expedition still awaits publication.

³ For examples see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, Vol. XIII (1947), p. 80, fig. 15.

⁴ Cf. *P.P.S.*, Vol. XIII (1947), p. 81, fig. 16, nos. 7 and 12.

⁵ Opinion communicated verbally by Dr. McBurney, to whom I acknowledge information about material recovered from stratified sites.

⁶ *P.P.S.*, Vol. XII (1946), p. 66, fig. 5.

⁷ Paolo Graziosi, 'La Libia Preistorica,' in *Libia nella Scienza e nella Storia*, published by the Ministero degli Affari Interni, 1943.

⁸ G. Petrocchi, 'Ricerche Preistoriche in Cirenaica,' *Africa Italiana*, Vol. VII, 1 (April, 1940).

⁹ Still unpublished.

¹⁰ Vignard in *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Française*, Vol. XXV (1928), pp. 200ff.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Anthropological Research in Austria. By Dr. Margarete Weninger, Dozent für Physische Anthropologie an der Universität Wien. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 17 May, 1949.

135

Extensive investigations of numerous human groups showed that anthropometrical methods alone were not sufficient. Thus R. Pösch and Josef Weninger began to develop new methods of morphological observation, which were improved and worked out by the latter and later gave rise to the name 'Vienna School.' These methods are concerned above all with the various regions of the head. The analysis of the soft parts surrounding the eyes may serve as an example.

This region can be divided into the palpebral fissure, the upper lid, and the lower lid. The palpebral fissure may vary in height, and the straight line from the inner to the lateral angle may run horizontally, obliquely downwards or upwards. The most important features of the upper lid are its height and the configuration of the skin folds, which give this area its characteristic appearance. Four types of this region were distinguished among a sample of West African Negroes, but they can be found in different proportions elsewhere: (1) a very high foldless upper lid

which lies close to the eyeball, with deep sulcus orbitalis superior; (2) light or moderate palpebral fold, with a visible part between the margin of the fold and the free margin of the lid, lid high or moderate; (3) very deep palpebral fold, free margin of the lid partly or completely hidden by it, lid of moderate height; (4) upper lid very low and without fold, lid running obliquely down and back in the lateral aspect, eyeball deep set.

Similarly the various features of the external nose, of the mouth and the chin, of the external ear, etc., have been analysed and morphological types have been distinguished which should be understood with regard to their anatomical basis and ontogenetic development. Thus the school is employing in its researches morphological as well as anthropometrical data, but lays greater stress on the morphological features.

This method, first developed for dealing with racial groups, has also been applied to investigations of twins and families. There is evidence of the inheritance of the above-mentioned features.

A new method of determining iris colour has been developed by Josef Weninger. Iris colour depends on iris structure and on the presence of pigment. The frontal boundary layer of the human iris is undergoing a process of reduction and shows different

degrees of atrophy: it may be completely preserved, interrupted by more or less extended fissures and cryptes, or quite absent. As pigment can only be embedded in the preserved parts of the layer, iris colour depends on whether this layer is well preserved or not. If the frontal boundary layer is completely missing there is no possibility of pigment being embedded; however, it may happen that a rather well preserved frontal boundary layer is devoid of pigment. The preserved frontal boundary layer shows a structure of straight radial fibres while within the cryptes and in cases where this layer is missing the corkscrew-like structure of the subjacent vascular layer is visible. The inheritance of degrees of atrophy has been proved.

Investigations dealing with the papillary system of the hand were carried through by the lecturer not only on various racial groups but also on twins and families. The pattern types of the thenar and of the hypothenar were shown to be greatly influenced by genetical factors.

The 'school is endeavouring to continue its family and twin

researches on the basis of these methods as well as possible under the difficult circumstances now prevailing in Austria.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Volume LXXVI, Part 1, of the *Journal* of the Institute was distributed to Fellows during August. Part 2 is now in the press and will consist of the following papers:

'The Aterian Industry: Its Place and Significance in the Palaeolithic World' (Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1946), by Miss G. Caton-Thompson, F.B.A., F.S.A.

'The Racial History of Egypt and Nubia, Part II,' by A. Batrawi, Ph.D.

'Names and Naming in the Wik Manghan Tribe,' by D. F. Thomson, D.Sc.

'New Discovery of a Ch'i Chia Culture Cemetery,' by N. Shiah.

'Topographical Terms in Common Use among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica,' by Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D. Index.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Ancient Egyptian Religion. By H. Frankfort. Columbia Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. pp. 172 with illustrations. Price 16s.

137 Although the religion of Ancient Egypt has aroused interest among archaeologists, anthropologists and the curious to a greater extent perhaps than the corresponding cult practices of any region in the Ancient East, very little has been done by Egyptologists in the matter of systematic interpretation of the field as a whole since in 1912 the late Professor Breasted described those aspects of Egyptian religion and thought in which the development and expansion could be traced, as he believed, analogously to the general drift of the biblical tradition. This was carried a stage further in his *Dawn of Conscience*, but neither he nor Erman made any attempt to treat the phenomenon as a unity *sui generis* that informed all phases of Egyptian life. It is to remedy this defect that Professor Frankfort has written the volume before us.

Our author is convinced that amid all the bewildering complications and confusion of Egyptian religion, and disregarding local differences in cults and doctrines, there is a single basic conviction that the universe is essentially static. Because he believed that the world was changeless, for the Egyptian it was ultimately significant. Movement was not denied, but in so far as change was significant it was recurrent motion—the life rhythm of that which is fundamentally permanent. 'The alternation of day and night, of drought and inundation, of the succession of the seasons, were significant changes, their movement was part of the established order of creation. But single occurrences, odd events, historical circumstances were ephemeral, superficial disturbances of the regularity of being and for that reason unimportant.'

From this premiss Dr. Frankfort proceeds to an examination of the Egyptian gods, their symbols and attributes, and the conception of the State as a divine order with a specific way of life brought into being when the world was created and personified in the sacred person of Pharaoh. As the fountainhead of all effective action, whose sovereignty was grounded in the cosmic order, the king was the integrating factor in the body politic; the touchstone for all that was permanent and, therefore, really significant. As the meeting point of the social order and the cosmic order he was the pivot of society, and in him all the gods were unified. Being immanent in nature they were imperfectly individualized and so Pharaoh, and through him his subjects, stood in the same relation to them all, however much they might be particularized for specific purposes. Re, Amon, Ptah, Aton, each equally was regarded as the creator because for the Egyptian the notion of creation involved not only

the source of all existence, but the static principle behind the perpetual rhythm of phenomena. This was exemplified in the daily rising and setting of the sun and in its unalterable course across the sky equated with *Maat*; a term applied both to the right ordering of society (justice) and to that of nature at the time of the creation when order (*Maat*) took the place of chaos. Here, again, all that is implied in this comprehensive concept—order in nature and justice in society—is summed up in Pharaoh, who stands on a line with the gods in relation to *Maat*.

From an analysis of the conception of the State and the way of life based upon this theory of the universe, in the next section the equilibrium of opposites is examined further in connexion with the doctrine of immortality. The hopeless confusion of incompatible ideas, which have been the despair of Egyptologists and anthropologists who have attempted to sort them out into a coherent scheme, is attributed to the use of several avenues of approach to ultimate problems held to be simultaneously valid, each in its own context as a partial solution. Thus, survival in the tomb requiring the preservation of the body as a mummy or portrait statue, had its own proper ritual and techniques, and these were combined with the conception of the deceased as a *Ba*, or animated personality fluttering around its former haunts as a human-headed bird, or as a 'transfigured spirit' (*Akhu*) totally withdrawn from contact with man and the earth. The situation was further complicated by the fact that originally immortality was a royal prerogative which later was extended to commoners when Osiris became lord and judge of the dead for everybody. Then death appeared as a phase of life in the cosmic circuit, the dead by becoming Osiris acquiring immortality within the perennial movement of nature.

In a final section devoted to change and permanence in literature and art, baffling paradoxes are explained by the same attitude of mind recognized in the preceding chapters. The artlessness of the narratives and the absence of a sense of history are due, it is alleged, to concentration on the unchanging values of life and the conviction that 'the touchstone of significance is permanence.'

Whatever may be the verdict of Egyptologists on this interpretation of the evidence, for the anthropologists and the student of comparative religion and philosophy the thesis is one of absorbing interest. Not only does it give coherence to Egyptian thought and practice, but it brings them into line with one of the most fundamental attitudes to the universe and phenomena in the history of mankind. The problem of being and becoming, of the relation of the static to the dynamic, of the permanent to the passing, has exercised the human mind in all states of culture, and since behind

the philosophical formulations of Greece and India lies its ritual expression in a cultus that centred in the divine kingship as the pivot of society, it would not be surprising if it were a basic conviction of Egyptian life and belief. Anyway Professor Frankfort has blazed a trail which may lead to illuminating results in the elucidation of religious thought and practice in the Ancient East. E. O. JAMES

Nubian Treasure. By Walter B. Emery. London (Methuen), 1948. Pp. 72, 42 plates and 10 figures. Price 30s.

138 'Intended entirely for the layman,' it purports to present 'in simple language devoid of unnecessary scientific detail' the story of the excavation of the X-group tombs at Ballana and Qustul. The book starts with an account of Lower Nubia and its

history, and the last 40 pages describe the excavation with some inevitable technical terms that may mystify the layman. It is indeed but an abbreviation of *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo, 1938) in more handy form. Better use could have been made of the excellent plates, if the author, while maintaining a readable style, had given double the text, including the argument where the history of Nubia is uncertain—for instance the X-group may well have been Nobatae and not Blemmyes. The tombs too could be more accurately dated yet by comparing the bronzes with datable examples from Egypt whence they came. Such treatment might solve the historical problem and would certainly have increased the interest of the book to layman and specialist alike.

A. J. ARKELL

EUROPE

Lascaux. By Fernand Windels. Montignac-sur-Vézère, Dordogne, 1948. Pp. 138. Price 3 guineas

139 The discovery of the magnificent Upper Palaeolithic cave paintings and engravings at Lascaux, near the little town of Montignac, in the Dordogne, in September, 1940, was not only one of the most remarkable examples of a chance find in prehistoric archaeology, but also one of the finest archaeological discoveries of this century in Western Europe. This is the first full publication of the cave and its art, except for the summary account given by the Abbé Breuil to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1940 and subsequently published in Spain and in France. It should be said at once that this book really does justice to its splendid subject, described by the Abbé Breuil as 'La Chapelle Sixtine de la Préhistoire.' The photographs are by Fernand Windels, who has set up at Montignac the Centre d'Études et de Documentation Préhistoriques, under whose auspices this book was published. The text is by Windels assisted by Mademoiselle Annette Laming de la Musée de l'Homme in Paris. The Abbé Breuil and M. Leroi-Gourhan, Assistant Director of the Musée de l'Homme, contribute introductory notes.

My first visit to Lascaux compares with my first visit to the Gizeh pyramids and to Stonehenge as a great moment in my personal apprehension of the prehistoric and proto-historic past. They were all emotionally moving experiences, and this experience in regard to Lascaux is brilliantly transmitted through the pages of text and illustration by M. Windels for those who cannot visit Lascaux itself. The photographs are superb and their reproduction both in colour and in black and white leaves nothing to be desired. The text provides a sensible and accurate commentary and description, as well as essaying a brief comparative account of the cave with an analysis of the animals portrayed, and a discussion of the evolution of palaeolithic art. The main task of this book, however, is not comparative archaeology but the description of one most remarkable site; and this task is admirably achieved. Engravings are, of course, not as susceptible to accurate recording photographically as are paintings, and the record of the Lascaux engravings provided by this book is not so good or so representative as one would have liked. But this is not a definitive publication of the art at Lascaux; much work remains to be done in copying the engravings. As it stands, this book is a most representative collection of the art at the site; and it is good to know that an English translation will shortly be published.

Lascaux is here revealed as one of the great and early achievements of the human spirit. The wonder of its preservation and the freshness of its delineation bring up again the old question—what adventure of the human spirit do these paintings and engravings represent? We may never know the answer, for here we come straight up against the great limitation of prehistoric archaeology; namely that it can only provide material for guessing at the mental, moral and spiritual life of earliest man. But guessing in such matters is a pleasant exercise, and turning over the pages of this book makes the need for guessing again more vivid and urgent than ever. And one wonders how many more such caves as this lie still hidden in the quiet hills of the Dordogne. It is exactly seventy years since the Altamira paintings were discovered, and less than fifty since Combarelles and Font-de-Gaume were found. The discovery of Lascaux, though it was nearly ten years ago, seems still only yesterday. What next? There is no reason to suppose that even yet we have recovered more than a fraction of Upper Palaeolithic art which has survived to the present day. GLYN E. DANIEL

L'Auvergne et Le Velay. By Lucien Gachon. Paris (Gallimard), 1948. Pp. 343, 42 text diagrams, 16 photographs, 2 maps. Price 760 fr.

140 This regional monograph could only have been produced by long association with the area. The author takes the whole of life in the region as his concern. The volume begins with the description of the physical environment, giving most weight to serious geographical studies. Soon, however, we reach the local dialect, here, as one might expect in the Massif Central, a blend of the 'langue d'oc' and the 'langue d'oïl.' The description of the material culture of the peasantry and of their social life and beliefs which follows is enriched by many words and phrases in the local patois.

There is a wealth of information on all these aspects, collected with care and adequately illustrated if occasionally difficult to follow. The major section deals with material culture and gives us information not easily available elsewhere.

On social matters the writer is concerned not only with the customs surrounding the individual throughout his life cycle but also with the community as a whole, its kinship ties, beliefs and leisure-time activities. The bibliography ranges over most of the field sciences and includes a section on records of local songs and dances.

J. M. MOGEY

CORRESPONDENCE

The Inventiveness of Savages. Cf. MAN, 1949, 113

141 Sir,—In his courteous review of a small book of mine on the beginnings of religion Lord Raglan calls in question the accuracy of my statement that 'primitive people are perfectly capable of accurate observation and are constantly experimenting, improvising and improving upon their techniques.' 'Savages have remained savages,' he affirms, 'precisely because they do nothing of the kind,' yet the fact remains that peoples in a primitive state of culture, while predominantly ruled by custom, have been compelled to live by their wits to survive in the struggle

for existence. The discovery and use of fire is indicative of accurate observation, to mention but one early human achievement, while the sequence of flint cultures from the rostro-carinate to the Solutrean blade, or the development of cave art from crude figures made with the finger on the clay wall to the great Magdalenian polychromes, reveal a series of improvements in technique. In hunting, fishing and trapping devices, weapons, appliances and utensils, improvisation, experiment and improvement can be seen in any representative ethnographical collection. Progress may have been slow and retarded by static conservatism, but gradual improvement

in equipment, greater skill in technique and increasing power of adaptation to specialized tasks are nevertheless apparent in cultural development from colithic times to the dawn of civilization.

Even the modern 'savage,' of whom doubtless Lord Raglan was thinking particularly, seems to be able to adapt himself to his environmental needs sufficiently to extract from a frigid tundra or a tropical forest some of the necessities and amenities of primitive life and culture. The ingenuity of Eskimo and Pygmies at any rate has devised contrivances which make the possession of the food supply possible, if not always too abundant. This, like the ability to adopt and transform to local circumstances those elements in a culture which are introduced by a process of diffusion, presupposes some powers of observation, experiment and improvisation. Moreover, if useful arts can be lost, as Rivers reminded us, they must first have been acquired.

E. O. JAMES

Oxford

142 SIR,—I cannot let the last paragraph of Lord Raglan's review of Professor James's book *The Beginnings of Religion* go unchallenged, since it seems to me that its inaccuracy is a good deal greater than that of which he accused Professor James. I do not know whether Lord Raglan's statement that savages have remained savages primarily because they do not experiment, improvise or improve on their technique is derived from a first-hand contact with savages, but if it is it is exactly opposite to my own experience. If Lord Raglan were right it would mean presumably that civilization descended ready-made from heaven. At any rate it will perhaps be enough to test his generalization by one or two instances.

So far as experiment goes I knew an illiterate Chang Naga from across the frontier who did not believe in taboos; he was unpopular, as might be imagined, in his village, but went on experimenting with every sort of strange food until he poisoned himself, it was said, by eating venomous snakes. He certainly experimented. Further, I can only conceive of the edible properties of such poisonous roots as manioc being discovered under circumstances of famine and experiment; a parallel instance to manioc is perhaps to be found in the use by Kukis in the Assam hills of a bean which is poisonous until thrice cooked in fresh water, but which is periodically resorted to in times of famine, and only then.

As for improvisation, we need hardly look any further than the Eskimo bow; Lord Raglan would probably not suggest that the Eskimo had acquired the use of the bow by any other method than diffusion, but the absence of any suitable material has led to the very ingenious and unique use of scarfed and shackled walrus teeth, or of almost rigid driftwood, backed with sinew to get the necessary resilience. The Eskimo igloo looks like a similar case of improvisation, this time in building materials. For another instance from Assam I may mention the lethal guns made by Konyak Nagas from water piping stolen from tea gardens. The idea of a gun is not original, but real muskets were, in my time, virtually unobtainable, and the fact of improvisation is sufficiently obvious.

As for improvement, during my residence in the Angami country, Angami traders to the Chin Hills noticed irrigated rice ripening there at an elevation at which they were not accustomed to see it; they brought back seed to try out (which they did successfully) in newly made terraces at higher elevations than their own rice would ripen at—a sufficiently clear case of observation and improvement. If further instances are asked for I would invite a reference to Nordenskiöld's work on the South American Indian as an inventor.

The root of the matter is that in an illiterate community very few inventions and improvements are handed on because the total content of culture which can be handed on is so very limited. The average man has only the time and opportunity to learn, and to pass on to another generation, the bare facts essential to his survival. Progress consequently is very slow before the introduction of writing, but that progress takes place in savage society is not only incontestable but is axiomatic to the existence of civilization. Any society must be progressing, degenerating or regenerating, since it can hardly be static.

J. H. HUTTON

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
Cambridge

Indonesian Art: A Reply. Cf. MAN, 1949, 91

143 SIR,—It is not my custom to reply to reviews of my works. On the contrary, I have always welcomed sound criticism and have greatly profited by it. However, the review of a very minor paper of mine, the introduction to a catalogue of an exhibition of Indonesian art, seems to justify an exception.

The reviewer, Dr. E. R. Leach, objects to my having written 'with a dogmatism that is rather startling for anyone with some knowledge of the field.' Does he expect a brief introduction for the visitors of an exhibition to contain all the scientific documentation? And if so, would he kindly explain how I should have compressed it into a few pages? What to Dr. Leach seems to be 'dogmatism' consists simply in my summarizing the results of a long series of papers which I have published in Austria, Germany, Holland, France and the United States in the years from 1928 to 1947. I am sure that they are all available in the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute, particularly since I have sent thither reprints of most or all of them. Dr. Leach does not seem to have seen them. Nor does he seem to be familiar with the writings of Victor Goloubew, Olov Janse, Emile Parre, Madeleine Colani, Solange Lemaître, P. V. van Stein Callenfels, A. van der Hoop and Sueji Umehara, whose findings all more or less agree with mine, not to speak of the conclusions of Professor Haloun, arrived at on purely philological and historical grounds. This is rather surprising in a person who claims to possess 'some knowledge of the field.'

The only subject mentioned in the introduction to the catalogue for which I have, so far, not offered any proofs is the connexion of Bornean art with that of Late Chou China, which, Dr. Leach thinks, is 'little more than erudite guesswork.' I must ask him to have a little patience. The matter will be dealt with in detail in a book which I am just now writing. Incidentally, Dr. Leach's notion that only 'very limited sorts of material have survived from Late Chou times' cannot fail to surprise scholars familiar with Chinese archaeology. Does he not know of the vast amounts of Late Chou material in metal, jade, wood, lacquer work, pottery, etc., including even at least one painting on silk, available in the museums and private collections of England, France, Sweden, Holland, Canada, the United States, China and Japan? Has he never taken a look at the works of Percival Yents, Karlgren, Sitrén, Andersson, Bishop White, Janse, Umehara and so many others who have written about Late Chou art and archaeology and have published innumerable illustrations?

Dr. Leach thinks that my 'general treatment is a more or less one-track diffusionism of the type favoured by the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith' and speaks of 'our old friend the Megalithic Culture,' thereby implying that my views on megalithic cultures agree with those of Elliot Smith. I cannot imagine that anyone who really has read my various papers on the subject could have gained that impression. On the contrary, I have repeatedly rejected Elliot Smith's and Perry's hypotheses. See *Anthropos*, Vol. 23 (1928), p. 314, and *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies* (New York, 1945), p. 149. That my views and methods should have much in common with those of Elliot Smith was certainly new to me.

ROBERT VON HEINE-GELDERN

Department of Anthropology,

American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Large Australian Axeheads. Illustrated. Cf. MAN, 1918, 2

144 SIR,—A considerable range of size is found among the many types of stone implements made by the aborigines of Australia. In 1918 H. Ling Roth drew attention in MAN to six outsize axeheads found up to 18 inches below the surface in the Johnstone River area of North Queensland; the largest measured 20.8 centimetres in length, whilst another from Boulia area had a length of 23 centimetres. Even longer examples are said to be found in New Caledonia, where they are 'fastened at right angles to a handle by sennet passed through two holes in the stone.' Mr. Roth says further that these large Australian implements seem to be confined to Northern Queensland, and some have the uncommon feature of being sharpened at both ends.

Five even larger examples have been noticed amongst eight large axeheads in the Queensland Museum at Brisbane. All are of axehead shape and were found in Northern Queensland, the largest reaching the remarkable length of just under 50 centimetres. Rough sketches of these pieces (cutting edge below) are seen in fig. 1. The

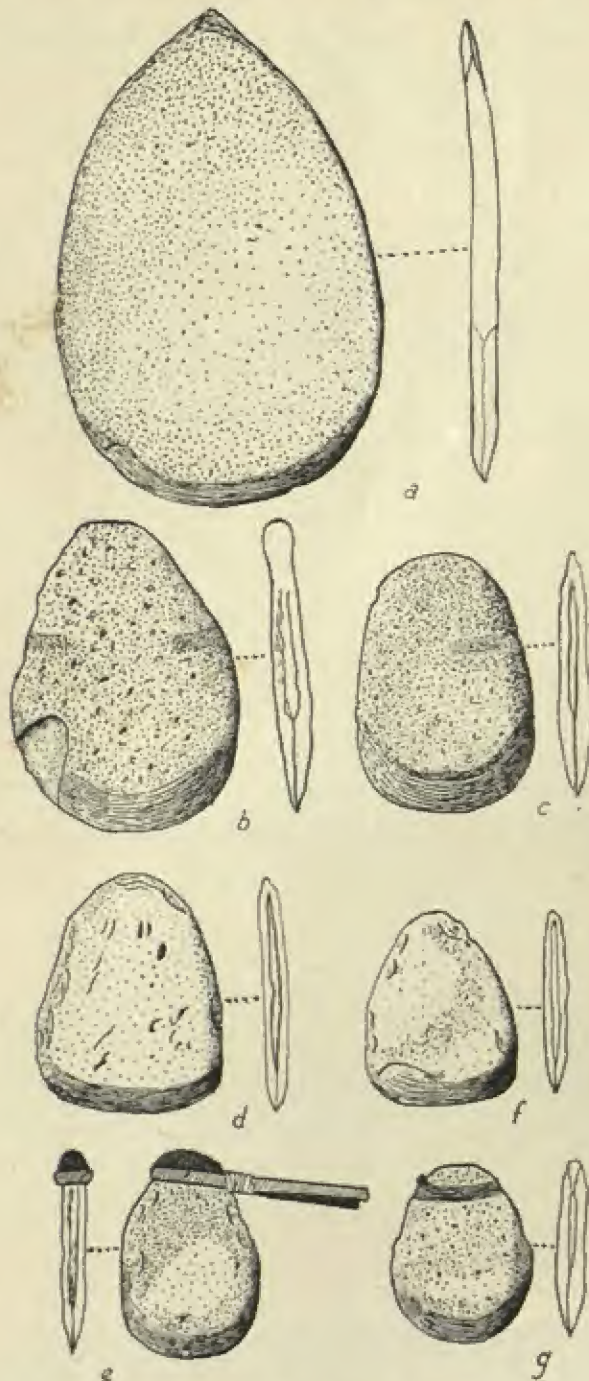


FIG. 1

largest specimen would seem to have been only usable unhafted, as on account of its bulk the use of both hands is essential to acquire the necessary balance. Certain areas of smoothing appear on the side margins, where the hands would secure a comfortable grip if manipulating the tool for chopping in the manner of an adze, which seems to support such a theory. There is no definite record of the

work for which the aborigine used this implement; it has, however, been suggested that it could be employed in removing the charred centre of a tree trunk when making a dug-out canoe. There are no vestiges of ceremonial use on any of the Museum specimens.

The manufacturing technique of these axeheads includes shaping by percussion and pecking or hammer-dressing, then grinding to an edge, which suggests, though the pieces reported by Roth were found well below the surface, that they are not of very ancient lineage. It is further probable that they are of foreign introduction, judging by their restricted dispersion and localization near the sea coast. The eight specimens may be shortly described as follows (my record of the weights has unfortunately been mislaid):

No. 1. Dimensions 49.5 centimetres length, 33.5 centimetres breadth and 2.5 centimetres thick. An exceptionally large slab-like tool of cordiform shape in fine-grained argillaceous material with convex and pointed cutting edges. Locality, Liverpool Creek, Innisfail, N.E. Queensland. The body is pecked and ground and an edge formed at both ends by grinding, the side margins being rounded by the same method. A smoothing of one of these margins is noticeable a little over half-way down, possibly the result of frequent manipulation by hand.

No. 2. Dimensions 32.5 x 24.5 x 3.5 centimetres. A clumsily made heavy implement of unidentified material. It is cordiform in shape, with good convex cutting edge. Locality, St. Side, Johnstone River, N. Queensland. The body is coarsely pecked and ground and the edge formed by grinding. A smooth zone appears about half-way down both side margins, whilst just above there are faint signs of shallow transverse pecked grooving.

No. 3. Dimensions 26.3 x 18.5 x 3.2 centimetres. A well-made ovate tool of unidentified material with a good convex cutting edge. Locality, Wrights Green, Kamma, N.E. Queensland. It has been shaped to a symmetrical form by pecking and grinding. Both faces show, about one-third from the top, a pecked-out transverse groove made for hafting purposes.

No. 4 (not illustrated). Dimensions 26.1 x 20.2 x 2.4 centimetres. Of similar shape to No. 2; the cutting edge is nearly straight. It is made of hard grey slaty material. There are definite signs of shaping by percussion, followed by pecking, on the body and grinding to form the edge. Locality unknown, but possibly from the same area as No. 2. There is no sign of transverse grooving, but a smoothed zone appears about half-way down on both side margins. There are two other similar pieces of doubtful provenance.

No. 5. Dimensions 24.7 x 19.1 x 2.7 centimetres. Somewhat like No. 4, but with a straighter cutting edge, this piece shows considerable grinding work done on the face. Material not identified. Locality, Herberton Dist., N.E. Queensland. Shaped by flaking and pecking, the edge and faces ground; no signs of a transverse groove.

No. 6. Dimensions 19.5 x 13.9 x 2.5 centimetres. This implement, of cordiform shape, has some gum and a bent withy haft attached. It has a convex cutting edge. Material not identified. Locality, Herbert Gorge, N.E. Queensland. Shaped by flaking and pecking, the edge formed by grinding. The Museum numbering shows that it was acquired in the early days, but the hafting may not be original. The withy is bound by split cane.

No. 7. Dimensions 19 x 15.6 x 2.1 centimetres. A roughly made straight-edged, sub-triangular implement of greenish shale. Locality, Tirrabella, Herberton Dist., N.E. Queensland. It has been shaped by flaking, pecking and grinding.

No. 8. Dimensions 18.3 x 13.5 x 2.8 centimetres. A well-made ovate form of convex-edged implement. Material not identified. Locality, Barron River area, N.E. Queensland. It has been almost entirely shaped by pecking, but the well-formed edge has been ground. This specimen is not particularly large, but it is included to show the very definite smoothish groove made for hafting purposes. A particle of gum still adheres to the butt end of the tool.

Les Eyzies, Dordogne.

H. V. V. NOONE

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TRADITIONAL ART OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

TRADITIONAL ART OF THE BRITISH COLONIES*

THE EXHIBITION HELD AT THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 JUNE-4 AUGUST, 1949

145 The Royal Anthropological Institute's first exhibition was held at 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, from 21 June to 4 August (extended from 20 July), as a contribution to the Colonial Month, in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies had invited the Institute's co-operation. The exhibition was most generously supported by the Arts Council of Great Britain with a guarantee which in particular made it possible to publish a well produced and illustrated catalogue.

In addition, a very large number of representatives of the British and foreign press attended the press view on the opening day, or visited the show later, and the commendatory notices were very numerous indeed for an exhibition of this size, including some by the art critics of the leading newspapers and weeklies. A television programme lasting three-quarters of an hour was also devoted to it, about thirty of the pieces being shown.

The purpose of the exhibition was twofold: in the first



FIG. 1. THE NORTH WALL OF THE EXHIBITION (BENIN, YORUBA, CAMEROONS, MALAYSIA)

The Institute was honoured with a visit by Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, on 14 July. Lord Listowel, Minister of State for the Colonies, paid an official visit to the exhibition on behalf of the Secretary of State on 7 July, and Mr. Creech Jones himself visited it informally a few days later. Among nearly 2,500 other visitors were many Africans, some of the most distinguished British artists and a great many past or present Colonial servants.

* With Plate M and 2 text figures

place, as part of the Colonial Month, it was intended to put before the public some of the highest manifestations of the artistic genius of Colonial peoples and to demonstrate that, if they lag behind us in material progress and in various other ways, there is still much for us to learn from them in more spiritual and æsthetic spheres such as art; and secondly, it was a means of bringing anthropology itself and the work of the Institute to the attention of a wider public and of establishing that, in spite of the growing

specialization of some of its branches, the subject matter of anthropology can still be of great interest to the layman with a broad interest in culture and art, and to the artist who, whether he has already attained artistic conviction in his own work or not, is always ready to admire and perhaps profit by such conviction when it appears with the intensity seen in primitive art.

In both these respects, this comparatively modest exhibition seems to its organizers to have had a measure of success. The Secretary of State has thanked the Institute officially in the warmest terms, and has sought the Institute's help in plans for a similar exhibition of Colonial art during the Festival of Britain in 1951; and the unprecedented space so generously accorded by the press has ensured that knowledge of this branch of the Institute's activities has been carried to wide circles of readers (apart from those who visited the show) previously uninterested

curators because the pieces illustrated are of exceptional quality or style and in most cases previously unpublished. Allowance was made for this demand in determining the size of the printing, but the number sold in the exhibition was much larger than had been expected, and a correspondingly smaller number are now available for sale. All who desire copies are therefore urged to order them within the next few weeks; the price is 2s. 6d., postage extra.

Stocks are also available of six postcards printed from the blocks used for the corresponding plates in the catalogue. The subjects represented are: (1) the best of the newly discovered terra cotta heads from Ife (Plate 3); (2) the superb ivory mask from Benin (Plate 6); (3) the figure of a man blowing an ivory trumpet from Benin (frontispiece); (4) the striking head of an Elephant Spirit from the Ibo (Plate 14); (5) the ancient wooden ancestor figure from

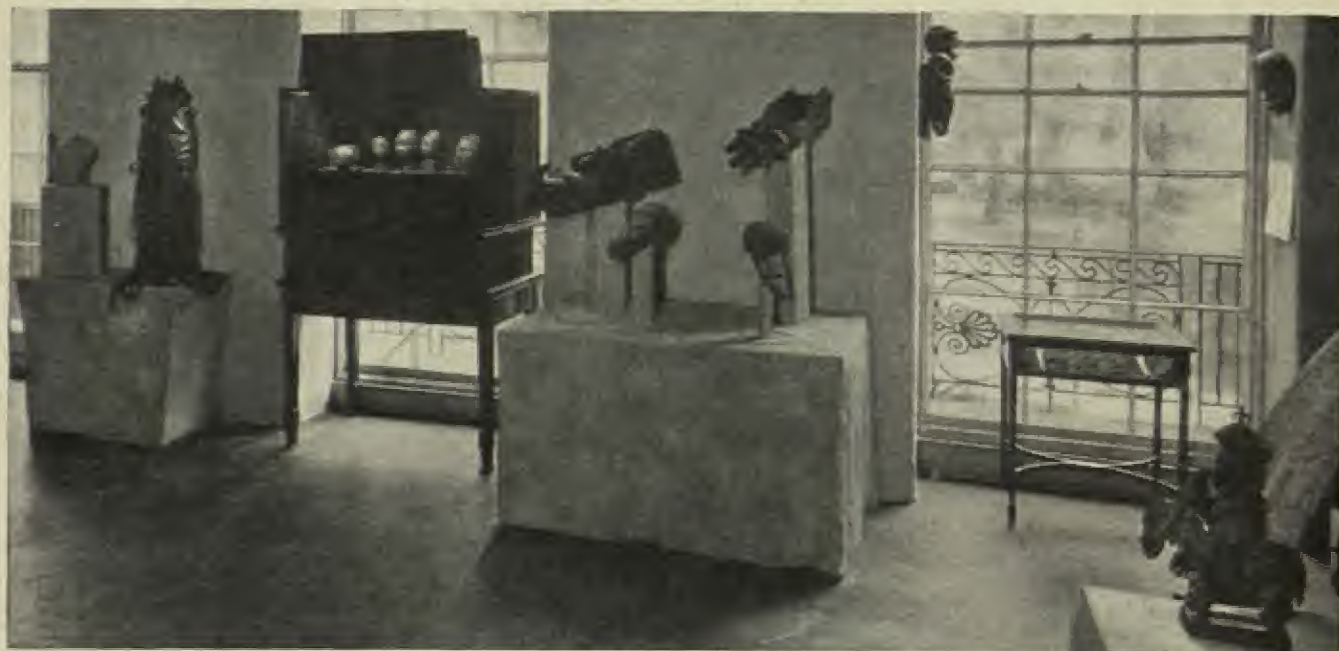


FIG. 2. THE SOUTH WALL OF THE EXHIBITION, FACING BEDFORD SQUARE

in anthropology. It is to be hoped that the Institute and anthropological science will derive benefit from this extension of interest, and that no opportunity will be missed of following up these results in the future.

The catalogue of the exhibition is in the form of a crown octavo booklet of 48 pages printed entirely on art paper, of which the first half is devoted to a brief introduction (five pages) and a descriptive commentary on the 100 pieces shown, with the fullest documentation available in each case, while the second half contains the 23 excellent plates, illustrating 30 of the finest pieces. (In addition, references are given in the text for 12 other exhibited pieces of which illustrations have appeared in other easily accessible works.) The catalogue was planned to be not merely of ephemeral interest to visitors to the show but also an addition in its own right to the literature on primitive art, likely to interest collectors, students and

Oron, Southern Nigeria (Plate 15); and (6) the massive head from the New Hebrides (Plate 22). The cards, which are sold at 4d. each, are suitable for use as Christmas cards or as ordinary postcards; special terms can be made for large orders.

A photographic record of the exhibition as arranged was taken on four full-plate negatives, prints from which are reproduced with this note as Plate M and figs. 1 and 2. Contact prints may be obtained, through the Hon. Secretary, at 15s. the set (postage extra), together with numbered keys, by means of which the pieces may be identified in the catalogue.

For such success as the exhibition achieved, the Institute's warm thanks are due to all those, Fellows and others, who assisted the Hon. Secretary, in great and small ways, and in some cases at great sacrifice of leisure, in carrying out an essentially voluntary enterprise.

SOME IMPLEMENTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES WITH EUROPEAN PARALLELS

by

H. V. V. NOONE

146 Of the many types of artifacts produced by the Australian aborigine several resemble those produced in prehistoric Europe. Attention has been drawn elsewhere to the practice in Australia of most of the methods of working employed by the ancient stoneworkers in Europe,¹ and recently Dr. A. S. Barnes has commented upon the similarities in blade-production.² Common European types of stone tools that are found in Australia are the concave, carinate, nosed, and side scrapers, but no evidence has come to light that a true burin industry ever existed.

A few rough notes are here given of certain pieces showing some similarity to European forms. It should be remembered that most Australian stone artifacts have been collected from surface or near-surface level, and that insufficient data so far exist to establish any generally accepted chronological sequence.

Stone Implements of an Archaic Type

There are certain core implements of primitive aspect, such as the ovate and cordiform biface, which, though they may show some signs of having been brought into use, may be actually contemporaneous with the comparatively recent edge-ground axeheads, and represent blanks destined to be ground to a working edge as occasion permitted. This is possibly the case, for instance, with certain Mousterian-like bifaces found in the Kimberleys.³

On the other hand, the Kangaroo Island pebble-chopper industry, also found on the Australian mainland, produced tools which there is reason to think were not made to be finished off by grinding. Their special feature is that they are unifaces or semi-unifaces that have been made from large water-worn quartzite pebbles; they are not associated with any flake or blade implements. A typical tool is the ellipsoidal semi-uniface chopper (fig. 1a), made by careful splitting of a large flattish pebble so as to obtain an acute-angled working edge backed by the remaining rounded margin of the pebble.⁴ Another common implement is of a horsehoof shape; a third is a true uniface, being formed by flaking one face of a split flattish pebble by working from the perimeter so as to form a tool of ovate or ellipsoidal shape with a sharp marginal edge. This particular uniface seems to have a widespread distribution, including the South Asian mainland, as it has been found in Sumatra, Malaya and Indo-China; it thus seems to be related to an ancient southern complex. This tool has become known as the 'Sumatra type' (fig. 1b).

Near Mount Gambier, South Australia, is found an industry, with ample local supplies of flint, which produced a tool of somewhat similar shape, but it is a true biface or semi-biface (fig. 1c). No evidence of its age has yet come to

light, and the various forms of implements produced have yet to be studied and described (mainly because their provenance was carefully concealed by the original finder). There is no definite proof so far that these bifaces are merely blanks prepared for grinding as axeheads.

The Horsehoof-shaped Implement

A tool shaped like a horse's hoof has been studied and described by H. M. Cooper in dealing with the large stone tools of Kangaroo Island, S.A.⁴ It has been classed by some as a core or nucleus, but there is ample evidence that these pieces are specially made implements. They are found on camp sites in association with the semi-uniface pebble chopper and an occasional 'Sumatra type,' but not with flakes or blades. The working edge of the 'horsehoof' (fig. 1d) is formed, here and there, by step or check flaking which is evidently not due to maladroitness in an attempt to produce a flake or to defects in the material, but is intentional. When necessary, further trimming restored the edge, until in a few cases there appears such a heavy overhang that the effective working edge has reached an angle near 120 degrees. It is not impossible that such a technique served not only to improve the grip but also to preserve the weight of the tool. Mr. Cooper has found by experiment that the horsehoof is a quite effective wood-chopping tool; it may represent the aborigine's solution to the knapper's problem of attaining a sufficiently robust edge for heavy woodwork, a problem solved elsewhere by grinding to an edge. The horsehoof shows some similarity to pieces of much the same form found in the Upper Palaeolithic levels of French sites.

The Stone Adze Flake

The stone adze flake is one of the commonest and most widespread forms found in Australia. Like ruddle and the stone axehead it became an article of intertribal trading, particularly in south-central areas and Western Queensland, and even as far as the Western Australia region. On account of its efficiency for all kinds of work when fixed in gum at the end of a wooden handle or spear-thrower (thus obtaining weight and gripping surface) the form of this tool is variable. It ranges in size from a microlith to a piece about three inches in breadth. The best procurable material was employed in its production. In its most popular form, the *tula* (fig. 1e), the working edge is opposite the bulb end, but in the case of some variants such as the 'Adelaide' the side margin is also utilized. Occasionally even a nondescript untrimmed squat flake is used. A special form is the *menia wadna*, a stout flake trimmed at both sides to form a pointed working end. This handy tool can be employed as a knife, chisel, gouge, plane, scraper

and piercer. Its gum bedding enables easy substitution or re-edging, the latter operation being on occasion performed with the teeth. In the case of good material re-edging was so frequently repeated that the stone was reduced to a narrow sliver, as witness the many discarded butts found.

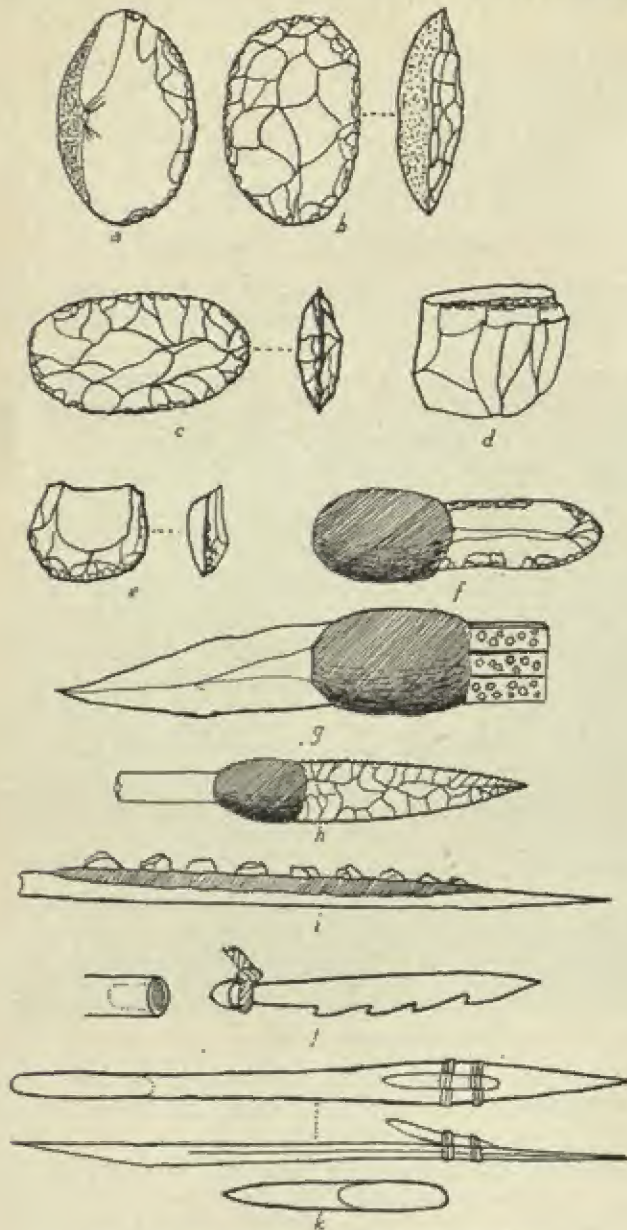


FIG. 1. SOME AUSTRALIAN IMPLEMENT TYPES

(a) Ellipsoidal pebble chopper, Kangaroo Island (scale $\frac{1}{4}$); (b) pebble uniface (Sumatra type), Kangaroo Island ($\frac{1}{2}$); (c) ellipsoidal biface ($\frac{1}{2}$); (d) 'horseshoe' implement ($\frac{1}{2}$); (e) adze flake (tula) ($\frac{1}{4}$); (f) women's knife ($\frac{1}{4}$); (g) men's knife ($\frac{1}{4}$); (h) biface spearhead, Kimberleys ($\frac{1}{4}$); (i) stone-barbed spear ($\frac{1}{4}$); (j) fishing harpoon ($\frac{1}{4}$); (k) wooden-barbed spear ($\frac{1}{4}$; barb enlarged to $\frac{1}{2}$).

The standard form known as *tula* is of somewhat discoidal shape, with large sloped platform and a slight convexity of its bulbar face. It was produced by practised craftsmen utilizing selected material, the finished adze flake being distributed by barter over a wide area along the well-

known routes. When used for chopping, or scraping a wooden article, the hafted flake-adze tool is held so that the bulbar face of the stone is nearest to the object worked upon, and the action is as if the worker were pressing towards his body a chisel with its handle sloped away from him; this sloped position affords a straighter cutting edge than if it were held vertically.

It will be noticed that this *tula* form of adze flake resembles some of the squat end scrapers used in European Perigordian to Neolithic times.

Men's and Women's Stone Knives

What is known as the women's stone knife of the Northern Territory is reported from the Warramunga and Kaitish tribes. It is usually made of a blade of quartzite or similar material knapped to provide a longitudinal midrib, though two ridges giving a trapezoidal in place of a triangular transverse section are sometimes found (fig. 1f). Near the butt the corner of the midrib is levelled by the detachment of a small flake longitudinally. The opposite end is carefully rounded by the removal of long scales, and final trimming regulates the edge, the side margins also showing some secondary work. This tool is set in a lump of spinifex gum extracted from spines of *tridodia pungens*, but without the gum handle it shows a marked similarity to the well-known end scraper (*grattoir*) of the Aurignacian period.

The counterpart of this tool, the men's knife (*leilara*), also in quartzite, is usually pointed by careful knapping (fig. 1g). It also is fitted into a gum handle, which frequently has a flat, pigmented piece of wood fixed into the end. A soft bark sheath, sometimes tipped with feathers, is used to protect the tool. The knapping skill employed in the production of these men's knives is often so masterly that no further work upon them is required. One fine pointed specimen now in the Adelaide Museum is just over $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad near the butt. In modern times it is reported to be used more as a symbol of manhood than as a useful cutting tool, though on rare occasions it may be put to ceremonial use, e.g. in sub-incision. It is also sometimes used as a spearhead or fighting pickhead. A similar implement is known to have been formerly used in duelling, which took the form of thigh-slashing.

Bifacially Worked Stone Spearheads

The biface spearhead is characteristic of the Kimberleys area of the north-east of Western Australia. It was formerly made of jasperoid, chalcedonic or similar material, but nowadays is often made from glass of liquor bottles or telegraph insulator scrap. A blank of suitable shape is first obtained by percussion, and finished into a spearhead by skilful pressure trimming. The side margins may be serrated at regular intervals and a show piece will be deftly worked to a needle point at the tip. The final shape is lanceolate with thinned and rounded butt and in the region of the point a strengthening median ridge (fig. 1h). When fixed to the reed shaft the head is usually embedded in the

gum to about one-fifth of its length. A small uniface variety of this spearhead is sometimes found in the area.

Except for the rounding of the butt and the marginal serrations, this spearhead resembles the famous Solutrean *feuille de laurier*, considered by some a Stone Age master-piece. Strangely enough, just as the latter was preceded by a uniface prototype, the *face plain*, so the Kimberleys spearhead, judging by excavations made in South Australia,⁵ was preceded on the Australian continent by the uniface *pirri*.

Microoliths

Amongst the microoliths found in the south-eastern areas appear the following forms which are practically identical with those found in Europe⁶ during the Mesolithic period: thumbnail and discoidal scrapers; segments and crescents; equilateral, scalene and isosceles triangles; asymmetrical and symmetrical trapezes; leaf-shaped and abrupt trimmed points. The 'micro-burin' is wanting except for a few sporadic finds of pieces showing similar features; so the Australian microolithic industry, though it developed into producing various geometric forms, must be designated as 'non-micro-burin-producing.' The nearest region known to have produced a comparable series of geometrical microoliths is Ceylon,⁷ where the micro-burin is also absent.

The Stone-barbed Spear

The stone-barbed spear is primarily a fighting weapon, and earned a deadly reputation amongst the early white settlers as the 'death spear.' It was in use until recent times all over southern and south-eastern Australia. A rather similar weapon was used in parts of Queensland. The barbs are made of small sharp chips of quartz or other stone, and are embedded in a strip of gum laid along the point end of the shaft (fig. 11). Before this weapon became obsolete glass chips were used. In Western Australia the spicules of stone were usually fitted along one side only of the shaft, but further to the east the spear is also found barbed on two sides. The chips tend to decrease in size the nearer they lie to the extreme point. A not too adhesive gum was usually employed, so that the barbs would melt out or work loose and remain in the wound to do their deadly work.

In some respects this weapon is reminiscent of the flint-barbed spear used in parts of Mesolithic Europe.

The Fishing Harpoon

The fishing harpoon has a head of hardwood, the tip being fire-hardened, and is socketed in a heavy wooden shaft. Barbs are cut in the head along one side and the butt is shaped to hold a fibre cord (fig. 12), which is coiled over the arm of the thrower as he stands in the bow of his craft on the watch for dugong or other large fish. Its use is reported at Bickerton Island, Gulf of Carpentaria. The shape suggests some harpoons in use in Mesolithic Europe.

The Wooden-barbed Spear

Amongst the extraordinary variety of spearheads produced by the skill and ingenuity of the aborigine there is a

very popular form which has a detachable barb, sometimes two. A lanceolate hardwood spearhead some fourteen inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch broad is spliced by means of kangaroo sinews to a long wooden shaft, which is cupped at the extreme butt to take the peg of the spear-thrower. On this spearhead, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches behind the fire-hardened tip, a wooden barb about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, gently curved and flat-seated, is firmly attached by wrapped kangaroo sinews (fig. 1k). Common in the central and south central regions, it is used in hunting the larger animals. The spearhead penetrating deeply enough to fix the spear, the weapon acts as a most effective drag, hampering the animal's efforts to throw off his pursuers. The barb, though now of wood, seems to have been made of bone in earlier times. This barb resembles the bone point found in the early Magdalenian levels of the Vézère Valley, Dordogne.

General Comments

Human remains found in excavations in Java have established the fact that man existed in this part of the world as far back as the lower Pleistocene. His early arrival in Australia is said to be attested by a recent find of two fossil human skulls at Keilor, near Melbourne.⁸ On geological evidence these are dated back to the Riss-Würm interglacial period; but this depends on a generally accepted solution to the very complicated problem of correlating the European, Asian and Australian glaciations and old terraces. The skull which came into the hands of the Victorian Museum is reported to show Tasmanoid and Australoid characteristics. No artifacts of definite type were found in association. Unfortunately Australia has so far shown very scanty evidence as to the periods and sequence of its obsolete stone cultures. A further complication is the persistence up to modern times of the manufacture and use of stone implements. The only productive excavation so far made was undertaken by Hale and Tindale of the South Australian Museum at Devon Downs on the lower Murray River.⁵ The deposit of six metres has been divided into five culture phases, designated Pre-Pirrian, Pirrian, Mudukian, Early Murundian and Late Murundian, the last being recent. A nearby excavation made in the river bed added an earlier culture, called the Tartangan. This sequence still awaits stratigraphic confirmation from material found elsewhere. Australia is a vast area, much of it still awaiting archaeological attention. Shell heaps and open camp sites are the usual sources of artifacts. A comparatively mild climate and a lack of steady food supplies nearby may have precluded prolonged occupation of rock-shelter locations in most regions. Perhaps the most that can be done meanwhile is to differentiate the stone industries by grouping certain of the outstanding types according to locality. A tentative zoning of this kind (which, of course, does not imply contemporaneity) might show the following:

- (a) a pebble-chopper complex for Kangaroo Island extending to certain areas of the mainland;
- (b) the bifaces of the Mount Gambier region;
- (c) an adze-flake (*nula*) complex for the vast central area and adjacent territory;

- (d) a Pirrian-point complex for South Australia, extending to the Kimberleys as a subsidiary zone;
 (e) a microlithic complex for New South Wales and Victoria, with intrusion into adjacent areas such as the Woakwine and other parts of South Australia, and an extension into the Fortescue River area of Western Australia.

Subsidiary facies would be the New South Wales *elouera* distribution, and cutting across the south-east and east would be an ellipsoidal chopping implement seemingly of the Kangaroo Island tradition. South-western Australia, with its paucity of distinct stone implements, except the rough chips and fragments of coarse workmanship which make up the saw-knife (*taap*), the 'death spear' and the flake hatchet (*kodja*), perhaps represents an outlying area which preserves the primitive basic stonecraft of the early aboriginal immigrants.

Considering the variety of Australian types and techniques,⁹ it may be said that in no other area of the Far East and Oceania has the production of stone implements been so thoroughly mastered and developed. Can it be that in Australia is found the final development of a South-East Asian stone-working complex which evolved from the implements found in Pleistocene deposits in Burma, Siam, Malaya and Java. Dr. H. L. Movius has shown that a widespread relationship exists between these pieces.¹⁰

Acknowledgements are due to Mr. H. M. Cooper of the

South Australian Museum, Adelaide, for helpful assistance in the study of the Museum's collections.

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SHORTER NOTES

Nigerian Masks and Headdresses: A London Exhibition

147 Nigeria, largest and richest in art of the British Colonial Dependencies, is slowly awakening to its responsibilities as the greatest repository in the world as we know it of works of art, ungarnered as yet into the safety of museums, which are as magnificent in range and quality as they are vulnerable by their nature and situation. Colonial administrators are naturally enough not chosen with any regard to their appreciation of art, and it is therefore to be expected that in this respect they should be but a cross-section of the home population: there have been many philistines in high places and low, but there have also been others, from the earliest days of British rule in Nigeria, who have apprehended, more or less clearly, that there was around them a heritage which should be preserved for Nigeria and the world, and which was beginning to disappear at an accelerating pace. Among these may be mentioned, without cynicism, the captors of Benin, such as Sir Ralph Moor and Admiral Rawson (for, but for the British action, the fragile ivories and discarded bronzes would quickly have suffered a far worse fate than the marbles left by Elgin on the Parthenon); another was Mr. Charles Partridge, F.S.A., who (as described in *MAN*, 1949, 1) sought to preserve certain antiquities of Ife, for Nigeria, at a time when the inhabitants were prepared to sell them for a rather meagre mess of pottage; but none has pursued the twin tasks of preserving traditional art and educating the Nigerians in its appreciation so selflessly and single-mindedly as Mr. Kenneth Murray, whose appointment as Surveyor of Antiquities there about five years ago was the first important step taken by the Government of Nigeria as such to serve these ends so essential to the development of a national consciousness. These antiquities are the Sibylline Books of Nigeria and the dwindling stock has

been purchased very late in the day; but only the first steps have been taken as yet, and much further effort and expense is called for before the position can be deemed secure. A museums and antiquities service which must catch up on the arrears of centuries and serve the aesthetic needs of a nation of 25 million people requires more than one or two men, and something more than the lowermost priority in the catalogue of development projects; we may confidently expect that implementation of the excellent plans drawn up or in preparation will be recognized by the Nigerian Government as one of the most important contributions they can make to the national welfare.

Until recently, Mr. Murray's work for the preservation of antiquities was carried out largely on his own account, and the exhibition now under review was a remarkable monument to his twenty years' labour. In this time he had collected several hundred masks from many parts of Southern Nigeria, besides many carved figures and other objects; of these he brought about 150 with him on leave at his own expense and placed 115 of the best on exhibition at the Zwemmer Gallery, from 21 June to 23 July, 1949, to coincide with the Colonial Month exhibitions. This show served to magnify the just preponderance given to Nigeria in the Royal Anthropological Institute's exhibition (see *MAN*, 1949, 145), and the two taken together formed a fit complement (one might almost say a corrective) to the 'Focus on Colonial Progress' exhibition, arranged by the Central Office of Information at Marble Arch.

It is unlikely that so many Nigerian masks have ever before been assembled in one place outside Nigeria, for even the British Museum has not so many. Moreover, they covered almost the full range of Nigerian tribal styles, many of them not previously exhibited in London. Among them were a series of unusually good Gelede and Egungun Society masks from the Yoruba; a

collection of 27 Ibibio masks spanning almost the entire range from sensuous naturalism to uncompromising abstraction; and, preeminent among the astonishing variety of Ibo styles with no visible interconnexions, a superb series of headdresses for the now extinct *Ogbom* play of the Ibo of Bende Division, in the form of tall blackened human figures worn by the dancers on the top of their heads. This last style is the finest of those introduced to the public view for the first time at this show, and is worthy to stand among the best examples of all African art.

The pieces in the exhibition are described by Mr. Murray in an exceptionally informative catalogue, of which the Royal Anthropological Institute was able to acquire a small stock at the close of the show. Since all the pieces were collected on the spot, with full documentation, by Mr. Murray himself, the catalogue differs from most other exhibition catalogues in that the attributions contain no element of conjecture. A completely illustrated catalogue would have been invaluable as a textbook for museum curators and collectors, but it was not possible to publish any

of the British Museum may be further enhanced by examples of some of the new styles represented in Mr. Murray's exhibition.

Social Anthropology of the Middle East: An American Research Project

I48 The Royal Anthropological Institute has been informed by the Public Information Office of Columbia University of the establishment of an extensive research project to study contemporary cultures in the Middle East and Far East. The plan has been launched with an initial fund of \$30,000, contributed by a group of private citizens. According to Dr. Abram Kardiner, Associate Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and director of the project, the areas selected for immediate study are India and the Middle East. The Columbia researchers will study these areas' cultures, their histories and factors influencing the formation of personalities. Dr. Kardiner said that the purpose of the programme is to study contemporary cultures in those areas which are "likely to be of great importance" to the United States in



FIG. 1. A PORTION OF MR. K. C. MURRAY'S EXHIBITION OF NIGERIAN MASKS

illustrations; however, a complete record of the exhibition was made on ten full-plate negatives, and the Institute has made arrangements which enable it to supply the complete set of contact prints (one of which is reproduced as fig. 1), together with numbered keys and with a copy of the printed catalogue, at a price of about 32s. 6d. From this it is possible readily to identify most of the important types of Nigerian masks, few of them previously published. (Orders may be addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Institute.)

There is a real need for a fully comprehensive collection of Nigerian masks and other works of art to be permanently available to students in the capital city of the Commonwealth, if Nigeria is to maintain its due place among the world's art traditions (for the ordinary art student will never be able to visit Africa easily); and it is much to be hoped that the rich collections

future years. The long-range project, expected to require several years for completion, is under the auspices of the Departments of Sociology and Anthropology at Columbia.

Documents of the Slave Trade

I49 Because of the importance of William Wilberforce and his friends in the humanitarian movement which among other influences led to the foundation of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and because of the influence of the slave trade as a factor in conditioning the present state of African and American culture and society, the appearance is worth noting in MAN of a small guide (*Wilberforce House, Hull*, by J. B. Fay, 1949, price 6d.) to the museum in Hull in which is housed an important collection of objects and documents relating to slavery and the Abolition Movement.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Akim-Kotoku: An Oman of the Gold Coast. By M. J. Field. London (Crown Agents for the Colonies), 1948. Pp. vii, 211, 2 maps. Price 15s.

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In 1936, as Government Anthropologist to the Gold Coast, Dr. Field was commissioned to examine the indigenous system of political allegiance and financial control in an Akan 'Native State.' For this she chose as typical the *oman* of Akim-Kotoku in Western Akim in the Colony.

Although the Twi term *oman* is always translated 'state,' it appears that its actual organization differs from that of a state as usually defined in that it is not territorially delimited. The *omanhene* is, or was, the leader of the members of the *oman* in war; he was not, and in the minds of the majority of his people he is not, the ruler of a defined territory over which his writ may be said to run. Dr. Field explains this predominantly personal rather than territorial organization—which has counterparts in other parts of West Africa where a centralized military system developed in response to outside pressure rather than as a result of conquest—in terms of local traditional history, according to which originally separate settlements banded themselves together for military purposes while each retained its own local independence. Warfare with Ashanti, which was almost continuous for two hundred years or so, demanded not only some measure of centralized military leadership, symbolized in the Stool of the most powerful local leader (the *omanhene*), but also financial co-operation for the purchase of weapons and ammunition from the Coast. Thus the leading stoolholder became the centre of military allegiance and of a regular fiscal system. He was not, however, a territorial chieftain, and originally had no powers of interference in the local affairs of the component settlements of the *oman* and no control over land resources. Dr. Field shows how this position has been somewhat modified in the twentieth century as the development of mining and cocoa has commercialized land-holding. She also demonstrates the difficulties inherent in the Administration's attempts to give the *omanhene* a territorial jurisdiction.

Descriptions of the official personnel of the *oman* and its component towns, their tasks and the actual running of the system today are tackled by a similar appeal to traditional history supplemented by Dr. Field's own eye-witness accounts. There is also some interesting, if rather slight, material on kinship relations and on the changes which are taking place in religious practices in this part of the Gold Coast.

The book is written with a minimum of technical terms and appears to be aimed at a general public as much as at professional anthropologists. The latter will miss any attempt at detailed sociological analysis, but it is to be hoped that the non-professional audience will be reached, for sympathetic, easily read studies of this kind can do much to ease the relations between aliens and the Africans amongst whom they work and to inform and interest the largely uninformed and uninterested public at home.

BARBARA E. WARD

The Negro-African Languages. By L. Homburger. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. vii, 275, 1 map. Price 21s.

151

This is an English translation, or rather paraphrase, of *Les Langues Nègro-Africaines*, which appeared in 1941. It begins with a historical and geographical sketch of the peoples of Africa and their languages, and goes on to survey the characteristics of the languages under nine heads: phonetics, vocabulary and syntax, pronouns, determination of definite nouns (article and genitive), particles, verbs, nouns, qualificatives and numerals. Chapter XI contains a brief history of African linguistic studies, and in the last chapter Mlle. Homburger sets out her theory of the Egyptian origin of African languages. The object of the book, according to the wrapper, is 'not to give scientific information . . . but to allow all interested in languages to realize the peculiar features of the Negro-African group, and to emphasize the fundamental unity in their origins.' This doctrine of fundamental unity is expressed in Mlle. Homburger's theory that 'Negro-African languages

represent varied modifications of Egyptian dialects adopted at different periods by various peoples in touch with Egyptian civilization.' In the appendix to Chapter I she claims, as I understand her thesis, that the link between ancient Egyptian and other African languages was a hypothetical language which she calls 'Saharian,' 'which must have been spoken about the Christian Era, by the nomad tribes who lived on the frontiers of the Roman Empire in Africa, viz. in the Sahara.' This language was 'presumably of the same type' as the 'adulterated form of Egyptian' spoken by the 'inhabitants of the oases [who] were and are Tedas.' Among the 'warrior-shepherds' who spoke Saharian were the 'Nobatae, Blemmyes and Garamants' from whom are descended the Nubians; and 'the invasion of Negroes which led to the Blemmyes being settled in Egypt by Diocletian separated the Masai from the rest of the Saharians,' for the Masai, like the Teda, Kanuri, Serer, Fula and Zande, are 'Saharians.' Comment is superfluous; but one would like to have some of the evidence for these assertions. In her preface Mlle. Homburger refers to the general rejection of her theory, and claims that she has avoided referring to it in this book (which she describes as 'practically a second edition') 'save in a few cases' and in the last chapter. Nevertheless, the implications of the theory are present, inevitably, on almost every page: nothing else indeed could account for the curious arrangement in which examples from languages of all types are collected together. There is nothing surprising in some lexical and even grammatical resemblances between ancient Egyptian and modern African languages; rather would it be surprising if there were no resemblances. But that is a long way from deriving all African languages from ancient Egyptian or Coptic: and it cannot be said that Mlle. Homburger has put forward really convincing evidence, for much of it is not sound. She considers, for example, that ancient Egyptian *kt*, *kti*, are the original forms of Fula *kal*, 'a little of,' and of Masai *eti*, 'little,' fem. *kiti*, on which the English version adds the illuminating comment (not in the French original) that 'k has disappeared in masculine words in Masai' (p. 235). But the Masai stem meaning 'little' is *ti*, not *kiti* or *kuti*, and instead of comparing Egyptian *kt* with Masai *ti*, I would rather compare Masai *ti* with Bantu Kavirondo *titi*, 'little.' And to connect, as she does on p. 237, Bantu *ka-ntu* with ancient Egyptian *ky*, *ku*, 'to be small,' might be justified if *kantu* were the only diminutive form that existed. It should be added, however, in fairness to the author, that the introduction of *kantu* here is an afterthought (not a very happy one), for it does not occur in the original French, where the proposition is put in a slightly more reasonable way.

This English version cannot be described as an improvement on the original edition in French. In the first place, the English is in many places extremely poor, and there is no doubt that the French expressed the author's theory much more convincingly, enough, perhaps, to convince some who are not Africanists. But this English version, slovenly in its execution, would seem unlikely to achieve its purpose; and the reader who wishes to examine Mlle. Homburger's theory for himself will have to go to the French edition, for whatever Africanists may think of it, the work of so distinguished a scholar as Mlle. Homburger should not be judged entirely by this English version. As an example of its badness we may quote some sentences from p. 209: 'Bleek . . . in 1851 had defended a thesis in Latin on the South African languages . . . Bishop Colonso [sic] took him to Natal, and later he became librarian to Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, and much interested in books.' That it was not Bleek who 'became interested in books' is shown by the original, which reads: 'Bleek . . . avait fait une thèse en latin sur les langues de l'Afrique du Sud dès 1851 . . . amené au Natal par l'évêque Colenso, Bleek fut ensuite attaché à la bibliothèque du gouverneur du Cap Sir George Grey, qui était un lettré.'

In the second place, it is marred by an incredible number of misprints, not only in European names where they do not matter, but in African words where they can be most misleading. Anyone can correct Colonso to Colenso, and if he cannot it does not really

matter; but who, not knowing Old Nubian, could guess that 'the *ol* of the Old Nubian future participle' (p. 190) is really *d* (French original, p. 261); or that Masai *to'm botos* (p. 111) is really *te'm bolos*? Though these misprints are merely evidence of slackness in putting the book through the press, they are none the less so numerous that they seriously detract from any value the book might have as a work of reference for comparative purposes. The reader who finds many errors in languages with which he is familiar cannot feel sure that words of languages which he does not know are quoted correctly.

More serious from the linguistic point of view are the mistaken assertions which so often are made when people are writing about unfamiliar languages, as for instance on p. 193, where Nandi *lala-n* (really *lal-an*) is said to be a 'repetition' of *la*, whereas it is from a stem *lal*. And a more careful study of Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages would have shown that 'repetition' (a not very happy choice for the 'redoublement' of the original) has a specific value (p. 193). On the ethnological side, several statements are made which will not be generally accepted, and in the very first paragraph of the book there is an unfortunate remark about pygmies in the Kalahari, which might possibly be due to incompetent translation of the original 'des populations naines.' But it is difficult to see what

Zimbabwe and the 'uncemented bridge in Nigeria' have to do with language: for this the translator is not responsible.

The value of a book of this kind depends on its accuracy in setting out facts, and on its objective approach; and if its purpose is to serve as an introduction to African languages, it should not be made the vehicle of a theory which, as the author admits, is not generally accepted. This book, apart from the translation and misprints, may be given credit for providing a collection of facts not at present available in a single volume. But it must be used with caution, for many of its statements are open to challenge, and the African specialist will find assertions about languages in his own field which do not carry conviction. I find for instance on p. 168 a statement that *-u* is a locative in Nandi, and that 'names of places take *ut* as definite article,' the examples given being the words for *sky* and *back* (though there are other words of greater relevance like *cattle-fold*, *council-place*, the Nandi for which have the suffix *-ut*), but to these may be added the words for *nose*, *arm*, *rat*, *ten* and *hunger* (to name but five), which all take the suffix *-ut*, and are not names of places.

In spite of the high cost of book-production these days, the price of this book, given to the world with so little care, seems unduly high.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

ASIA

The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze: A Study in Chinese Nautical Research, Vol. II (The Craft of the Lower and Middle Yangtze and Tributaries). By G. R. G. Worcester. Shanghai (London: Kegan Paul), 1948. Pp. 506, with 197 plates, 32 text figures and a map. Price £2.

This volume concludes the exhaustive and inspired studies of Chinese junks and sampans of the Yangtze and its associated waterways undertaken by Mr. Worcester for the Chinese Maritime Customs. Like the first volume it is characterized by clarity and breadth of treatment, fine production and masterly knowledge of the subject. Mr. Worcester's works on Chinese junks are classics and indispensable alike to the traveller to China and the student of nautical archaeology. This work is not confined to bare descriptions of the various types of craft illustrated. It is rich in topographical description and details of the riverine peoples' lives, beliefs, techniques and history. Chapter XII—the first of this second volume—deals in general with junks, their cargoes, system of taxation (and its influence on their design), and vast volume of traffic, with the types of lug sail characteristic of junks on various stretches of the river, and the influence of topography on hull design. Subsequent chapters give the background to and describe in detail individual types of junks met with on the Lower Yangtze; the Middle Yangtze; its tributaries and lakes and the Grand Canal. We are particularly grateful to the author for going beyond the strict confines of his book and for including the history and description, with line drawings, of that curious hybrid the *Lorcha*, once famous for its achievements in escorting convoys along the China coast. It is debatable whether western lines greatly affected junk design forward, at least to within recent years. The junks of Indo-China had sharp stems and prominent stern posts in the twelfth century, as the researches of M. Jean Poujade have revealed.

War junks have a chapter that is very fascinating and which includes reproductions of Admiral Paris's very fine scale drawings of contemporary war junks in 1842. Other reproductions of old Chinese drawings of war junks are valuable contributions to the subject.

D. W. WATERS

Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China: A Comparative Study of Agrarian Problems and Social Organization among the Pai Yi People of Yunnan and the Kamba People of Sikang. By Chen Han-Seng. Mimeographed. Institute of Pacific Relations (New York), 1949. Pp. viii, 156. Price \$2.00

This publication consists of two separate short monographs, one on the Pai Yi, i.e. the Yunnan Shans, the other on the Kamba, i.e. the Eastern Tibetans, rather artificially linked together on a thread of Marxist dogma. Both monographs contain useful comparative

material. Approximately one-third of each section of the book is taken up with a generalized review of local history; there then follows a summary of the indigenous political and administrative structure followed by statistical analysis of property, land tenure and labour organization in certain selected villages.

In the Pai Yi section the figures relating to production and property distribution show an economy analogous to the rice-based systems described by Fei and Chang in *Earthbound China* (cf. MAN, 1948, 145). The fact that the population here described is Pai Yi (Shan) and not Chinese seems somewhat irrelevant. It is useful to have an account of the Chinese 'colonial' administrative system, but the historical review is poor. Better accounts of the indigenous Shan organization exist elsewhere, notably in the work of Scott, an author whom Mr. Chen does not mention.

The Kamba portion of the book is a more closely integrated piece of work. The author here takes a rather narrow Marxist point of view derived from Professor S. V. Yushkov. He holds that Eastern Tibetan society is in a specific stage of evolutionary development—'early feudalism'—which he contrasts with the more rudimentary 'proto-feudalism' of the Pai Yi. The root of all Kamba ills, including even polyandry, is to be found in the *ula*, a system of labour obligation which the author identifies, without any great caution, with the French term *corvée* and the English phrase 'forced labour.' The argument seems to me greatly over-simplified, but contains a number of thought-provoking ideas.

It should be noted that the work was originally written up in Chinese some years ago and references have not been always brought up to date. In particular the Kamba material should be read in conjunction with various recent papers by Professor Li An-che published by the West China Union University and elsewhere. Li's work is specifically sociological as against the politico-economic emphasis of Chen's analysis and suggests a rather different interpretation for many of the facts cited.

E. R. LEACH

Hinduism. By A. C. Bouquet. London (Hutchinson), 1949. Pp. 171. Price 7s. 6d.

154 In a short book of 171 pages, Dr. Bouquet attempts to give us an account of a vast and complicated religion like Hinduism. Everyone will agree that this is a very difficult task, but Dr. Bouquet manages to pack a good deal of information into his small book. In the preface Dr. Bouquet tells us that he wants to show 'understanding and sympathy' towards the religion he is studying; and very occasionally he does manage to break through the collective representations which he inherits as a member of a different religion and different culture, and perceives a Hindu religious concept as a Hindu perceives it. His occasional success,

however, only throws into relief his general failure to understand Hinduism.

Hinduism is a very different religion from Christianity. It has no 'Church' in the sense in which the Christians have one, it does not possess a body of dogma and it is not a proselytizing religion. It encourages image-worship, and abounds in feasts, festivals and pilgrimages. Very profound religious experience as well as the worship, with animal sacrifice, of goddesses who preside over diseases such as small-pox, plague and cholera are included within Hinduism. It embraces sects like Jainism and Lingāyatism which have questioned many of the accepted notions of orthodox Hindus. The Jains questioned the authority of the Vedas and the Lingāyats refused to accept the idea of the Karma.

That European Christians find Hinduism baffling in the extreme is only natural. Quite apart from the fact that they tend to accept certain popular ideas current about Hinduism in their culture, they have necessarily to believe that theirs is the only true religion, and that all other religions are more or less false. Their attitude is determined beforehand, and comparative religion, one comes to the melancholy conclusion, tends to become merely patriotism for one's own religion.

Dr. Bouquet writes:

'Hinduism sets forth knowledge—seeing the truth—as the way to salvation. But this is not salvation from wickedness or wrongdoing which is the fruit of self-centredness, but salvation from ignorance. The moment a man knows himself to be one with the Atman-Brahman, he is released. But this has no sort of relation to moral regeneration. To be wise is more important than to be good, since good and evil both belong to the sphere of illusion from which wisdom sets one free. It is true that occasionally one finds suggestions that one cannot attain to knowledge without the preparatory discipline of a well-ordered moral life, but this is not the general teaching of the Upanishads' (p. 74).

It is surprising that Dr. Bouquet should have thought that the knowledge of the identity of the individual Atman with the universal Brahman which the Upanishadic sages refer to is of the same kind as that involved in normal intellectual activity. It is a different kind of knowledge. It presupposes an ethical and spiritual discipline, and it also has the effect of transforming the life of the individual concerned. Again, it is important to remember that the social fabric was maintained by *Varnāshramadharma*, and even in Upanishadic India mystics were the exception rather than the rule. When we are dealing with mystics, it is essential to remember that we are dealing only with a select few. Not every man wishes to attain unity with God even in a predominantly religious society like that which existed in Upanishadic India. Finally, the mystics as the preferred type of Indian society had, we must presume, a certain effect on the values of the bulk of the population. The Upanishadic mystic might have been keen only on saving his soul, but his example certainly taught people to value the things of the spirit. This is visible even today in India—the ordinary Indian has an intuitive appreciation of matters spiritual and this spirituality stands out in the midst of so much social and other ugliness.

One does not know what to make of certain statements in the book. For instance, referring to the Hindu tradition of the old man retiring to the forest to meditate on God, Dr. Bouquet says, 'in a warm climate old men may be more comfortable in the jungle than in a crowded house, where they and the younger folk are getting on one another's nerves' (p. 35). It is obvious that the author has no first-hand experience of the jungle.

There are some obvious slips and errors which I hope will be remedied in the next edition. The *Dādūpanthi* is described 'as a more or less male community' (p. 115). Again, Cochin is not in Travancore (p. 97). *Shrāddha* does not mean funeral rites, but the annual propitiation of the deceased ancestors (p. 123).

M. N. SRINIVAS

CORRESPONDENCE

Indonesian Art. Cf. MAN, 1949, 91 and 143

155 SIR,—I am grateful to Dr. Heine-Geldern for replying to my somewhat impertinent notice of his recent essay in *Indonesian Art* (MAN, 1949, 91). There is a general point at issue which seems to me of some importance.

My ill phrased comment that Dr. Heine-Geldern had here expressed his views 'with a dogmatism that is rather startling for anyone with some knowledge of the field' was not meant to imply any limitation to Dr. Heine-Geldern's own knowledge of his specialism. As an introductory essay to the catalogue of an art exhibition this condensed expression of his views was no doubt admirable, but as a reviewer for MAN I was presumably asked to report how far this summary essay is to be considered a significant contribution to anthropology. From this latter point of view, Dr. Heine-Geldern's argument, as here presented, does appear to me greatly over-simplified and dogmatic.

Anthropologists, like students of art generally, seem to be divided into two clearly distinguishable camps in their attitude to the problems of primitive art. In this respect Dr. Heine-Geldern and most of the writers whom he mentions may be classed as art historians, while a number of other anthropologists—Boas and Leonhard Adam for example—have more in common with the art critic. For the former group, the art products of modern 'primitives' are of interest primarily because of their derivation from the art of great civilizations of the remote past; for the latter the interest is in the objects themselves regardless of the stylistic derivation. From the point of view of one of the latter, Dr. Heine-Geldern's general approach, particularly as expressed in condensed form in the essay under discussion, does appear to bear a marked resemblance to that of Elliot Smith. I apologize if Dr. Heine-Geldern feels hurt at this insinuation. I fully realize that he in no way adheres to the wilder speculations of Elliot Smith and Perry.

But as between Late Chou and Modern Borneo, may I defend

myself? As Dr. Heine-Geldern states, Late Chou art today consists of numerous (mostly rather small) objects of metal (mainly bronze), jade, wood (surely very few?), lacquer work, pottery, etc. This is a residue from something much more lavish the nature of which we can only guess. Modern Bornean art, on the other hand, is expressed over a very wide range of materials but mainly in wood (often on a monumental scale), metal (mostly blacksmith's work), ivory and bone, textiles (especially *ikat*) and basketry. The media and scale of the two forms of aesthetic expression, as we now know them, are thus almost wholly distinct. We can observe at first hand all the techniques of the Bornean artist-craftsman and we can study the social milieu in which he works; but we can only guess at most of the original context of the objects surviving from the Chou epoch.

Dr. Heine-Geldern believes that a connexion can be established between the totality of the living art complex of modern Borneo and the totality of a presumably much more elaborate and sophisticated art complex which existed many hundreds of miles away some 2,000-odd years ago. The basic evidence for this alleged association consists ultimately in certain rather debatable resemblances of motif or design element. Whether such arguments and the other associated philological and archaeological evidence so far produced constitute proof or erudite guesswork must be a matter of opinion. I should have thought myself that most students would agree that the archaeology of South-East Asia generally is still very much at the guesswork stage. In any case, I myself prefer a more direct approach to the artistic expression of living cultures.

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Note

Some students of art (and indeed of ethnology in general) may feel that the best approach lies somewhere between Dr. Leach's two groups, and that in any case, in a scientific sense, there is no useless knowledge. Even the 'functionalists' did not

in practice entirely clear their minds of information about origins, however uninterested they were in adding to it. Such information (apart from its value in itself) is surely often indispensable, or at least highly useful, in the study of living cultures; questioning of living informants will seldom elicit reliable information about traits which are in fact meaningless survivals from an earlier age. Thus, no student of, say, West African art can safely ignore the traces therein of elements from the ancient Nile Valley cultures; if he is convinced enough of the theory with which he started, he may have little difficulty, with the ever generous help of indigenous informants, in finding another 'explanation' for them, but knowledge of the truth would at the least save him time and wasted effort and might often give him more positive assistance.

In former days, one anthropologist might span several fields and several approaches; the growing specialization of today seems justifiable only so long as there are enough specialists in different fields and approaches to maintain a broad and balanced advance of knowledge. Thus it may be held that the existence of specialists in the study of origins helps to justify those who prefer to confine themselves to living cultures; and *vice versa*.—ED.

The Blowgun in Europe (Illustrated)

156 SIR,—In January, 1948, the magazine *Lilliput* reproduced a mediæval miniature showing methods of hunting and fishing, in which a young man is seen aiming a blowgun at a bird in a tree. This miniature is from a MS. (5.064) in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, of Pietro de Crescenzi's *Treatise on Rural Economy*, and was made in France about 1475; I reproduce it (fig. 1) by permission of the Conservateur of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. At about the same time Lord Raglan pointed out that a similar miniature, which contains most of the same elements differently placed, had appeared in the American magazine *Life* for May, 1947. This is from a Flemish MS. of the same work, and apparently of about the same date, in the Morgan Library, New York. The close resemblance between the two miniatures suggests that both were free copies of the same original. Though Crescenzi wrote his work in 1304-6, I have not been able to trace an earlier copy than the two mentioned in which a miniature of this type appears.

Two earlier MSS. in the British Museum have decorated borders in which appear grotesque figures using what may be blowguns. One (Add. MS. 36684.f.44), which is North French, shows a figure apparently aiming a blowgun at a rabbit; the tube appears to be about three feet in length, and from the position of the hands, which hold the end near the mouth, it seems to me unlikely that the object is a staff. Its date is about 1320. The other (Stowe 17) was made in the Maastricht district in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It shows (f.124) a grotesque ape-like creature standing on the back of a horse and bending with its head huddled between its knees. From the position where its mouth would be, a long pole or tube projects backwards. The creature's leg hides the hands and the mouth end. Neither of these examples can be said certainly to represent the blowgun, and the second is especially doubtful.

Among the Raffles Collection of *Wayang* shadow figures from Java, collected by Sir Stamford Raffles before 1824 and now in the British Museum, is one (59.12-28.492) depicting an army in battle. It includes a number of figures using blowguns, which in this case too seem to be not much more than three feet long. The figures are bald and naked above the waist, and may perhaps represent members of a primitive tribe. In his *History of Java* (1817, Vol. 1, p. 296) Raffles says, referring to the plate facing this page: 'The *tūlup* and *pāser* represent the tube and the small arrows which are rendered poisonous by the *ūpas*: these have not been used on Java for centuries, but they are common in the less civilized islands of the Archipelago, and particularly on Borneo.' However, the plate, which is headed 'Javan Weapons,' shows the *tūlup* and *pāser*: a tube short in proportion to its diameter (there is no scale), and darts barbed on one side. Among the arrows of the Raffles Collection is one, 17 inches long, of light-coloured wood, the head formed of a piece of metal lapped round the point, and a long strip of paper wrapped round the butt end to form a packing. This may be a blow-

gun dart; but there are a number of others exactly similar but feathered, and reference to the plate previously mentioned suggests that all may have been used with a throwing device called *Diwal*. In any event, it seems that the memory of the use of the blowgun in war lasted in Java until Raffles' time, and as a hunting weapon or a toy it still survived. It is difficult to see how so slowly acting a weapon can have been useful in pitched battle.

British Museum

B. A. L. CRANSTONE



FIG. 1

Note

Professor J. H. Hutton adds the following note:

'In an article in *Country Life*, 10 December, 1948, an account is given of the trade cards of certain eighteenth-century manufacturers of fishing tackle, in which the mention repeatedly occurs of 'trunks' to shoot darts and pellets (at fish?); the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* gives 'blow-pipe' as 'an obsolete meaning for trunk,' so that it is quite clear that what were advertised by these tackle-dealers were blowguns of sorts. Can anyone tell me where one can see one of these vanished trunks with its apparatus? I do not remember ever to have seen one in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford or in any other museum. That blowguns were fairly well known in Europe is clear from Mr. Cranstone's illustration. I suppose they may have come to Europe from either South America or from India, but the Italian name *cerbottana* suggests an Oriental origin. They may have come to Europe through the Arabs or through Portuguese and Italian trade with the East.'—ED.

The Inventiveness of Savages. Cf. MAN, 1949

157 SIR,—Even if we knew, which we certainly do not, that an Eskimo invented the igloo, we should not be entitled to infer that the Eskimo 'are constantly [my italics] experimenting . . .'. My ancestor, the second Marquess of Worcester, is said to have invented the steam engine, but if Professor James were to infer that his descendants are constantly improving it, he would be mistaken.

It is, of course, possible that a savage might make a successful experiment, but there seems to be no evidence that any savage has ever done so. The only experiment cited by Professor Hutton was

unsuccessful. The other cases he cites relate to borrowing, which is a different matter.

We do not know how civilization arose, and to elevate our guesses into dogmas is unjustifiable. History teaches us, however, that the Romans, for example, were not experimentally inclined and made few inventions, and that in many civilized countries crude and inefficient devices have persisted unchanged for centuries. Are all savages really more ingenious than the Romans or our mediæval ancestors, and, if so, why are they still savages?

RAGLAN

Pueblo Belt-Weaving. Cf. MAN, 1949

158 SIR,—I write with reference to Mrs. Aitken's article on Pueblo belt-weaving to say that there is in this Museum a loom with a rigid heddle, like the second one in the article, which was collected at Zuni by Mr. Louis Clarke in 1923 and given by him to the Museum in 1924. It has on it a partly woven warp-face red band with one narrow green stripe on each side of a central zone, which bears a simple pattern containing a few white threads. The red and green warps are of wool, and in the central zone the red



FIG. 1. WOODEN WEAVING COMB FROM ZUNÍ

Length 5 inches

woollen warps alternate with white cotton ones. There is a pair of white cotton warps at each edge. The weft is of white cotton, and there is no spool, so it was probably passed with the fingers. In addition to a sword for beating in the weft, there is a wooden comb (fig. 1) which resembles some Early Iron Age bone ones to which the same use is ascribed.

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Further Light on the 'Olokun' Head of Ife. Cf. MAN, 1949, 1

159 SIR,—Samples of the 'Olokun' and British Museum heads (see MAN, 1949, Plate Aa) were taken in the form of drillings in the British Museum laboratories, and have been examined chemically and spectrographically. The alloys were found to be heavily leaded α brasses with the following compositions:

	'Olokun' head per cent.	British Museum head per cent.
Tin	1.0	0.8
Lead	11.0	11.4
Copper	74.2	73.4
Iron	0.6	0.6
Zinc	12.3	13.1
	99.1	99.3

The spectrograms of the two alloys were practically identical, and showed the presence also of silver, nickel, arsenic, antimony and bismuth.

The similarity of the metal in the two castings points to a common source and suggests, indeed, that these heads may have been cast from metal originally of the same melting. Such results cannot be

regarded as support for the contention that the 'Olokun' head is the work of a modern bronze-founder, unless one is to suppose that the founder used metal derived from a genuine Ife head. (A spectrographic examination of the eighteen heads revealed the presence of the same elements in each one—although the proportions of the major elements varied considerably.)

I had no opportunity of examining the 'Olokun' head before its return to Africa and it is therefore especially unfortunate that the nature of the sample precluded a metallographic examination, as this might well have contributed evidence bearing on the conclusion of Fagg and Underwood that the bronze had been made by sand casting. A case has undoubtedly been made for regarding the 'Olokun' head as different from the other heads examined, but I consider that the conclusion that the head was sand-cast in a four- or five-piece mould is not supported by the evidence offered.

Research Laboratory, British Museum

A. A. MOSS

Note

The authors of the article 'An Examination of the So-Called Olokun Head of Ife, Nigeria' (MAN, 1949, 1) do not feel that Dr. Moss's very interesting result in itself modifies their arguments and conclusions—though it certainly heightens the mystery of how the reproduction, if such it be, came to be made. Indeed the virtual identity of the two alloys only throws into higher relief the extraordinary differences in technique of manufacture between the two heads—differences which, in their experience, cannot be explained within the context of West African bronze-casting alone.

It is interesting to compare Dr. Moss's figures with those obtained by Sir William Gowland for a 'typical' sculpture in the round from Benin, and published in Read and Dalton, *Antiquities from the City of Benin* (British Museum, 1899). These are (per cent.): tin, 0.57; lead, 5.85; copper, 78.50; iron, 0.54; zinc, 14.34; nickel, trace; arsenic, 0.11; antimony, 0.09. Silver and bismuth, which were found by Dr. Moss, are not mentioned. Gowland drew from this analysis the conclusion that the metal must have come from the Iberian peninsula rather than from Northern Europe, but does not seem to have considered the possibility of an African origin; and indeed he would have found it difficult to obtain specimens of native African ores, which are even now not available for study in this country. These facts suggest that pieces of old bronze whose analyses would fall within the range of the Ife bronzes may not be at all uncommon in Nigeria; this would increase the possibility of coincidence between the analyses of the British Museum head and a reproduction, made in local bronze, of the 'Olokun' head.

Such careful selection of contemporary materials is common practice among makers of facsimiles of all kinds of antiques, whether they be old books, furniture, paintings or bronze sculptures. Moreover, there seems no reason to exclude the possibility that an analysis, as careful as Dr. Moss's, should have been made from the original or a part of it, and instructions given to a bronze-founder to follow it as accurately as possible in making a reproduction.

It is now understood that the Oni of Ife is prepared in principle to allow the 'Olokun' head to be sent to England again, probably within the next few months, for further examination at greater leisure than was available in the week preceding its return to Nigeria last year. This will give interested students and bronze-casting experts the opportunity to form their opinions, besides allowing for the metallographic examination suggested by Dr. Moss. Meanwhile, the authors of the article published in January think it right briefly to summarize their conclusions as follows: (1) in common with the various experts who examined the head, they feel that the evidence adduced is sufficient to establish that, by whatever process produced, the present 'Olokun' head is an after-cast or reproduction; and (2) a number of pieces of evidence suggest that the process used was probably that of sand casting, as tentatively reconstructed in the concluding section of the article.—Ed.

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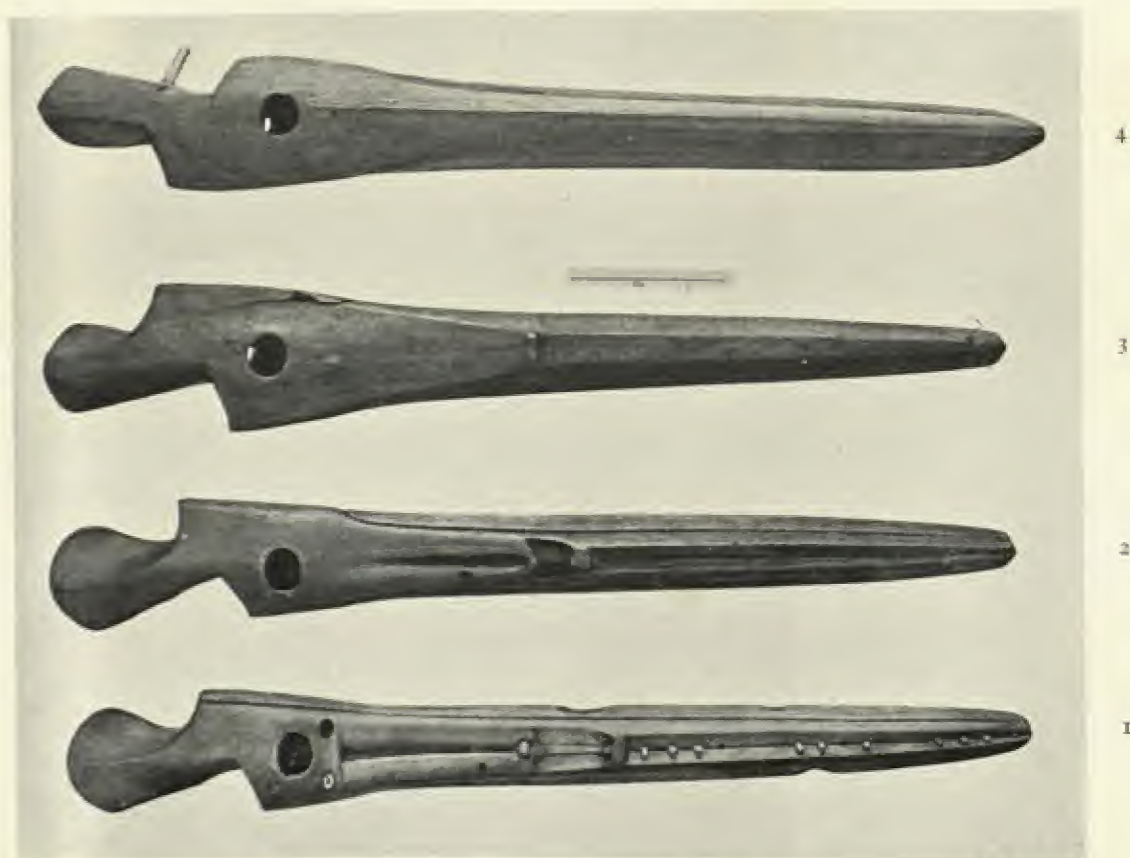
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OLD WESTERN ESKIMO SPEAR-THROWERS

Front view above ; approximate length of No. 1, 19 inches

Photographs: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

SOME OLD WESTERN ESKIMO SPEAR-THROWERS*

by

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160 The Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology has recently acquired four Western Eskimo spear-throwers, of which front and back views are shown in Plate N, from the Wisbech Museum, to which they were given, with other things, by Rear-Admiral Spelman Swaine, R.N., the Squire of Leverington, and by members of his family. He obtained them during the voyage, 1792 to 1795, on which he accompanied Vancouver to the west coast of North America and thence round the world. Their early date and associations give them an exceptional interest and importance.

The photographs show their nature quite clearly, so a long description is unnecessary; in the comments below, they will be numbered 1 to 4, starting at the bottom. All are of a slow-growing coniferous wood, and all have an ivory inset at the end of the socket, with a vestige of a projection to fit into the butt of the dart.

No. 1 is remarkable for the insets in the back; immediately behind the finger hole were two teeth, one of which is lost; behind these is a central groove, at the far end of which is a light-blue glass bead, probably of Russian origin; farther back are three groups of four small teeth, the first lacking one, the second likewise, while the third has an empty socket (barely visible in the photograph), which was probably not filled, just behind the third tooth. The teeth are much worn and hard to identify. The larger

* *With Plate N*

one might be a worn milk molar of a bear or perhaps the last molar of a canid. The smaller ones appear to be the incisors of a carnivore, possibly the Arctic fox, but they might be the milk teeth of a dog or even a bear. I owe this information to Mr. F. R. Parrington, Director of the Cambridge University Museum of Zoology.

No. 2 has a very small light-blue glass bead at the back, set near the forward end of the narrow groove in the axis of the rear half of the weapon.

No. 3 lacks insets and is altogether plainer, but has been split and bound in antiquity in two places with sinew cord. The binding at the forward end passes through a hole in the front finger socket, and the job was finished by driving a wooden peg into the hole.

No. 4 differs from the remainder in the holding arrangement, and in being left-handed, a most interesting fact first noticed by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz. It lacks the prominent sockets for the last three fingers which are found on the other examples, having a mere vestige of a hollow for the foremost of them, and it has a long ivory peg which is held in its socket by a wooden peg passing, presumably, through a hole in its base. This wooden peg shows clearly in the photograph of the back.

All except No. 1 bear very faint inscriptions saying that they come from the Sandwich Islands, which appear to have been written on them when they first went to Wisbech Museum.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH*

by

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161 In the first part of this paper I shall consider the place of 'ultimate values' in systematic sociological theory, and in the second the bearing of these considerations on anthropological research. It should be emphasized from the beginning that in my view there is no theoretical distinction between sociology and social anthropology.

The problem of values in systematic sociological theory has been most adequately analysed by T. Parsons, and what

* This essay, which has special reference to the problem of values, was given as a talk at the Graduate Seminar of Anthropology at the London School of Economics. It is intended as a cursory review of some of the problems, and not as a detailed examination of the literature mentioned, nor is this literature representative of anthropological research in general.

The author is indebted to Professor R. Firth and the members of the seminar for many interesting criticisms and valuable suggestions.

follows is mainly based on his analysis.¹ Ultimate values constitute an inherent analytical element of the 'structure of social action,' the analysis of which starts with the ends-means schema. The structure of social action is composed of institutional roles which determine the activities of the members of a social system as oriented towards the various ends and towards one another. These roles define the specific ends which individuals pursue and the appropriate means by which they may be achieved. Ultimate values enter into this schema as ends of actions, either as 'empirical' or as 'transcendental' ends. Theoretical consideration of empirical facts has shown that the various ends existing in a social system are not random but usually constitute interconnected systems. Different social systems have different value systems. The ultimate values have, however,

also a specific bearing on the structure and systems of means, of which the three principal—the technological, the economic and the political—may be connected in various ways with the ends. This connexion may be graded from the 'intrinsically rational' to the 'symbolic' (either religious or magical). Various characteristics of the ultimate values may be of great significance in determining the nature of this connexion, or relationship between ends and means. Many transcendental ends—existing in all social systems—entail, by definition, symbolic activities, while many empirical ends necessitate the pursuit of rational activities. 'Valuational attitudes' also constitute inherent elements in the social orientation of the members of a system towards one another, especially when the social relationships are seen—in a way—as ends in themselves, without being oriented towards any specific end. This is true of those relations in which the communal (*gemeinschaftliche*) as opposed to the 'societal' (*gesellschaftliche*) element prevails.

This short analysis indicates the main modes in which ultimate ends bear on the structure of social action, of which they are a basic element. What has been said so far indicates a phenomenological analysis based, as in the work of Parsons, on the development of social theory in its relation to social research. It means that these elements, values and valuational attitudes exist in every social system; consequently, the basic nature of social systems is defined so as to include these elements. The most important problem for us, however, is the implications of this analysis for sociological research. Any such implication can be based only on the assumption that the valuational element is an independent variable, amenable to empirical investigation of its relations to other elements of the social system; and this assumption has been proved correct by many leading writers on sociology—Pareto, Durkheim, Weber, Mannheim, etc. It would perhaps be worth while to indicate some of the most important theoretical problems arising from these assumptions so that we may understand better the relation between the present state of anthropological research and the central theoretical problems of systematic sociology, i.e. those problems which are logically deducible from the phenomenological analysis of the different variables (analytical elements) inherent in a system of social action.

The most general problem is that of the stability of social systems, a problem which under different guises dominated sociological thought from the beginning.² This problem may be stated in the following way: 'Under what conditions does a social system perpetuate itself (i.e. do the individuals participating in it continue to perform the roles inherent in this system)?' By 'conditions' I mean the appropriate combination of the various elements of the system, both those mentioned above and the 'psychological' elements of individual gratification and participation. If we assume that values constitute an independent variable, we may re-formulate the problem from a somewhat different aspect in this way: 'What are the specific properties of a system of values which are necessary for the stability of the social system of which the given system of

values forms a part?' This statement of the problem emphasizes the importance of analysis of 'systems' of values. I do not mean by this, however, logically coherent systems of beliefs and propositions, but essentially a systematic juxtaposition of various basic aspects of values bearing on social action. It is well known that there are many relatively stable systems of values which are not logically coherent. What, then, are the necessary gratifications to the individuals as actors in the social ends-means schema, without which no system can endure, and what are the relations of various aspects of value systems to these gratifications? Such aspects as promises of future gratifications and increasing deference, the relations of these promises to various empirical actions, the assurance of security and the various definitions of security, etc.—all these may prove to be essential for the solution of our problems. I wish to emphasize the great importance, in this context, of the word 'relation,' because it indicates the basic connexion between the systems of values and the structure of social action. These relations may be stated here in the most general terms, as follows: 'A system of values which legitimizes transcendently a social situation which is deprivational for some members of the system cannot be stable unless it contains also some values, connected (situationally) with the former, the pursuit of which defines some concrete situations as gratifying (e.g. providing social and emotional security and promises of more distant gratification) to the same members.' Or: 'Any system of values which can be realized only by a long chain of intermediary means-actions must, to be stable, define the various social situations in which these means are pursued as a continuous series from the point of view of the "social perspective" (to use Kurt Lewin's terminology) of the participating actors.' If these hypotheses should prove correct, we could analyse various concrete systems of values as approximating in different degrees to these conditions.

This is, of course, a very inadequate formulation; to be adequate it should have been stated in terms of *all* the elements of the system of action. This indicates that the complete solution of this problem would involve the analysis of all the possible aspects of values which bear upon various elements of social action (and *vice versa*). It is superfluous to say that such a complete analysis does not exist today; it is doubtful whether it will ever be achieved, and its achievement would mean, in a way, the logical and empirical closure of systematic sociology. We may, however, strive after this unattainable goal.

This brings us to the second problem, or rather set of problems. It may be stated as the degrees of existential compatibility between different concrete systems of values and various 'systems' of other elements of social structure. In this category would be included such problems as: 'which systems of values are compatible with a subsistence economy, a feudal system, etc?' or, conversely, 'which political (economical, etc.) systems are compatible with a given system of values?' Compatibility is, of course, a matter of degree and the various social tensions, or situations of *anomie* resulting from different degrees of incom-

patibility, should constitute a part of the research. In fact the totally stable system is an ideal construct.

This set of problems is of a lower degree of abstraction than the former; this does not mean, however, that the two are not connected. If we assume sociology to be a unitary scientific discipline and not a loosely connected set of descriptions and problems, then it is obvious that the problems of the lower degree of abstraction should be derived from and included among those of a higher degree. In other words, if we formulate a hypothesis that a specific system of values is compatible (or incompatible) with a specific economic or political system, this hypothesis will be scientifically valid only if we can demonstrate that the relations between these two concrete systems are indices of the general conditions of the stability (or instability) of social systems. This may be obvious, but it entails various very important consequences for research, especially in the problems of descriptive classification, which we shall discuss briefly later on.

The last set of problems concerns the conditions under which various systems of values change and new systems emerge. These problems should, of course, also be included under the universal propositions of systematic sociology. In this way only can we approach something similar to causal generalizations.

I now discuss briefly the relation of anthropological research in its present state to these problems of theoretical sociology.

One of the most important contributions of anthropology was towards the elucidation of the basic, phenomenological analysis. In the works of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski the problems of ultimate, transcendental ends and symbolic means and their relations to social action were most thoroughly analysed, and the present stage of elaboration of the basic system of social action is greatly indebted to them. Almost all works of their disciples are based on this analysis and demonstrate it in particular concrete settings. A further very important contribution of recent anthropological research lies in the second set of problems, i.e. the relative compatibility of various systems of elements of social action. Most of the so-called 'comparative studies' come in here. Among these I would specially mention Malinowski's and Firth's studies of primitive economics, Evans-Pritchard's studies of witchcraft and magic, such volumes as *African Political Systems*, Nadel's *Black Byzantium*, Mead's and Kardiner's studies in comparative psychology and many others of which the above mentioned are the prototypes. Most anthropological literature contains very valuable material for such comparative studies, although different in range, specificity and abstraction. I think that most of these researches compare very favourably with most of the specifically 'sociological' researches, because their systematic treatment is based on the basic categories and elements of social action. The main problem which they pose before us is their relation to the first sets of problems—the general conditions of stability of social systems. Although anthropological materials provide a mine for the elucidation of these problems, until lately they were scarcely utilized in this way.³

This unclarified relation to the basic problem of social theory is most clearly seen in the various classificatory and descriptive terms used in anthropological literature; it is difficult to understand the relations between many of these terms. They are usually relevant to the specific problem investigated. This is, of course, entirely legitimate and inherent in the nature of scientific work. The difficulty is that the problems themselves are often theoretically unrelated, i.e. are not derived from central problems of sociological theory and are not included under universal propositions. We can always try to find this relation, but only in a roundabout way, and then we always meet the stumbling-block of discrete systems of terminology. In other words, we lack universal indices.

This lack is especially felt in the classification of ultimate values. While solid foundations do exist in the field of 'social' (political, economic, kinship, etc.) organization, the theoretical classification of various aspects of systems of values bearing on social action is still in its very beginning. I think that most of these beginnings hardly approach the last important development of systematic theory in this field, namely Max Weber's system of religious sociology. Anthropological material abounds in data on cults, magical observances, ethical principles, etc. These data are not always classified in coherent systems related to systems of other elements of social action and derived from central problems. There is often some confusion between descriptive and theoretical problems. Though we have many accurate and detailed descriptions of religions of conquerors, it would be difficult to find adequate comparative material for the solution of such a problem as: 'what are the aspects of systems of value of conquerors which are necessary for their fusion in one comparatively stable social system with the conquered?' The pooling of the necessary materials, from anthropological and historic sources, would at least necessitate a great deal of re-translating of terms. Lately, however, many important advances have been made⁴ which at least indicate the possibility of a more unified sociological systematic research.

As for the third range of problems, namely the changes in systems of values, etc., anthropological literature, especially that on acculturation and culture change, abounds of course in relevant data. The theoretical situation is, however, similar to that discussed above. Once more we lack interrelated sets of problems derivable from universal propositions. The present world range of sociological and anthropological researches does make possible a very wide and comprehensive scheme of comparative research, oriented towards the solution of such problems. Some of these problems may be thus formulated: 'what aspects of religious and ethical systems have special attraction for people undergoing processes of economic detribalization and being drawn into fields of capitalistic colonial enterprise?'; 'under what conditions do secular values and communal symbols emerge and maintain themselves?'; 'what are the characteristics of communal value-attitudes emerging under given conditions of culture contact (the given conditions should include the respective

ends and means and the degree of possibility of their realization in the given situation)?' The more general problem may be stated in this way: 'what aspects of values as ultimate ends and as symbols of communal attitudes are more likely to emerge in various situations of *anomie* concurrent to processes of culture contact?'

Many of the culture-contact studies provide us with relevant material, well organized in the basic categories of social action. The next step should be their explicit inclusion under general problems and propositions.

One could find many reasons for this relative incongruence of anthropological researches in the academic history of anthropology. One does, however, sometimes meet a more important 'justification': it is said that the main task of the anthropologist is to find and describe new data. I think this argument is already outworn, although it emphasizes the technical difficulty of a balance between the presentation of new material and theoretical formulations. From the theoretical point of view the argument is not valid. Even the most innocent piece of description is imbued with classifications implying conceptual schemes.

It is much better to make these schemes explicit and to submit them to a rigorous scientific discipline.

What has been said should not be interpreted as shunning small problems and aspiring to a rash and quick solution of universal problems by magical devices. I have tried only to point out some possibilities for a more unified and systematic approach in research.

Notes

¹ T. Parsons, 'The Place of Ultimate Values in Social Theory,' *Internat. J. Ethics*, Vol. XLV (1935). *The Structure of Social Action*, New York, 1937. 'The Role of Ideas in Social Action,' *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Vol. III (1940).

² It has in fact been shown that sociological inquiry arose under the stimulus of the instability of modern society.

³ Very important beginnings in this field are Kluckhohn's and Hallowell's works on the problems of anxiety and magic, etc.

⁴ A very important re-direction is contained in E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937). See on this Max Gluckman, 'The Logic of African Science and Witchcraft' in *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, Vol. I (June, 1944). See also the very important number of *Africa* on *Witchcraft* (Vol. VIII, No. 4, October, 1935).

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

James Cowles Prichard, 1786-1848

162 The centenary of the death of James Cowles Prichard, the pioneer anthropologist and one of the founders, in 1843, of the Ethnological Society, was celebrated on 22 December, 1948, by a Special Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, at which papers were read by Mr. J. C. Trevor and Professor W. C. Osman Hill, besides a message from Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., who was absent in Egypt at the time. Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, Past President of the Institute, was in the chair in the absence of the President, Professor Daryll Forde. Among those present were the Rev. T. I. Pocock, the only surviving grandson of Dr. Prichard, and the Rev. T. Eslin Prichard, a great-grandson.

On the following day, in addition to a report of the meeting, the Editor of *The Times* signalized the occasion with a leading article which, after briefly appraising Prichard's life and work, concluded in the following words:

He was clearly a thinker of a very various and original mind, and it is well that his memory should be honoured now. It would be even better if those in authority would seize the occasion to reflect how poorly, in any official way, the science of physical anthropology is served today in Britain. Only four university posts are devoted to it, and none of these is of professorial rank. Moreover, though the British Museum in Bloomsbury has a well staffed Department of Ethnology (which is concerned with the cultures rather than the races of man), the British Museum's other section, the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, which possesses most valuable anthropological collections, has no anthropologist as such upon its staff. 'The proper study of mankind is man' and there could be no more fitting outcome of this centenary celebration than to place upon an improved footing the branch of science James Cowles Prichard so much adorned.

The three following articles are the full texts of the communications read to the Centenary Meeting.

Prichard's Life and Works. A communication to the Prichard Centenary Meeting, 22 December, 1948, by J. C. Trevor, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge (with a text figure)

163 James Cowles Prichard has not been, for a man of such eminence, fortunate in his biographers. A fairly clear idea of the stages of his career, and of the esteem in which his contemporaries held him, can be gained from the obituaries, read before the Ethnological Society in February, 1849, by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that month, as well as from a memoir which formed the subject of an address to the Bath and Bristol Branch of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Society, at its meeting the following March, by Dr. John Addington Symonds, F.R.S., the father of the poet and critic. But, apart from their encomiums, these yield only a faint outline of Prichard himself. Doubtless his memory was so fresh in the minds of those who knew him that details of his origin, family and personality, were considered superfluous. Coke's brief notice in his *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (1882), a continuation of Duncumb's standard work of the same title, adds nothing, and Dr. D. Hack Tuke, who wrote *Prichard and Symonds in Especial Relation to Mental Science* (1891), and is also responsible for Prichard's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. XLVI, 1896), has too specialized a topic to deal with in the first, and is inevitably too laconic in the second, to convey much more.

James Cowles's surname seems to be a corruption of Pichard rather than a contraction of Ap-Richard. His unpublished life of his father, to which Hodgkin had access, may provide further information on this score. It is regrettable that none of the four of his own sons who went to Oxford—all were scholars, two becoming fellows of their Colleges—and later took holy orders seems to have performed a similar filial service, though the eldest, another James Cowles, a man of letters and Vicar of

Mitcham, Surrey, predeceased him by three months. Prichard's childhood friends speak of his studiousness, combined with a love of fun. Symonds says of him: 'The freedom from assumption in his ordinary life and demeanour was very remarkable. The simplicity, and all but diffidence of manner displayed in company, where his intellect far overtowered that of others, could not fail to strike observation. He would converse with persons infinitely his inferiors in mind and attainments, as if they were on the same level with him, asking their opinions in connexion with subjects upon which he might have dictated to the whole republic of science . . . The countenance, to the most superficial observer, betokened deep thoughtfulness, with something of reserve and shyness, but blended with true kindness. His voice was rather weak and low, but very distinct in articulation. His manners and deportment, as I have already remarked, were simple and unaffected; and in general company he evidently spoke with effort or even reluctance, unless on subjects of business or of scientific and literary interest.'

He was born at Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire—in which parish, Coke remarks, his ancestors had resided 'during several generations'—on 11 February, 1786, the eldest son of Thomas and Mary Prichard (born Lewis). His parents were members of the Society of Friends, in the tenets of which he was raised. Thomas Prichard had married at about the age of twenty and was early left a widower with four children, to whose care and education he devoted himself. A man possessing only a slight acquaintance with Latin and Greek, he acquired French, German and Hebrew later in life. James Cowles became a polyglot, too. When his father moved to Bristol, he received instruction in classical and modern languages, his familiarity with French, Spanish, Italian and Modern Greek being due, in some part, to his habit of frequenting the Bristol docks and talking to the seamen he met by the waterfront in their own tongues. A Greek sailor, on being addressed by the boy in Romaic, is said to have caught him in his arms and kissed him. In his manhood Prichard acquired German, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit and some Celtic. He never went to school, but, on his father's retiring from business to Ross, was taught mathematics and languages by a series of private tutors at home, Thomas attending to his history.

'When the choice of a profession became necessary,' says Symonds, 'he selected that of medicine, not from any bias towards it, but because it presented no difficulties to him as a member of the Society of Friends, and at the same time admitted of his pursuing of his favourite studies.' At the age of sixteen he was 'placed' with Thomas Pole, an American obstetrician, resident in Bristol, and then was sent in the same year, 1802, to learn pharmacy under Robert Pope and William Tothill, two general practitioners, at Staines. All these teachers were Quakers. After Staines, Prichard became a student of Anatomy at St. Thomas's Hospital Medical School, and from there he proceeded, in the autumn of 1806, to the University of Edinburgh, where, two years later, he took his M.D. The title of his 150-page dissertation was *De generis humani varietate*, afterwards to be expanded into his most celebrated anthropological work, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*. On 13 October, 1808, he was admitted as a Pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, where his tutor was a Mr. Hudson. He matriculated in Lent, 1809, but, as a dissenter, did not graduate. I have been unable to trace more than these bare facts of Prichard's time at Cambridge, and there is no record of what courses he attended at the University. His fellow Quaker, Hodgkin, the founder of the Aborigines' Protection Society in 1837 and Physician to Guy's Hospital—Hodgkin's disease, a hypertrophy of the lymphatic glands, the etiology of which is still obscure, is known throughout the medical world—surmises that Prichard studied mathematics and some theology. The last subject,

Hodgkin appears to imply with a faint suspicion of regret, caused him to part company with the Friends, for whom, however, he always cherished a warm regard, and to be received into the Anglican Communion. According to Symonds, 'His opinions, during the greater part of his life, were in strict conformity with the doctrines embodied in the Book of Common Prayer.'

This change enabled Prichard to enter Oxford, then the less liberal University, and he joined St. John's, matriculating on 3 June, 1809. Finding its atmosphere uncongenial, he shortly afterwards transferred to Trinity as a Gentleman Commoner. Oxford nourished him no longer than Cambridge had done, for in 1810 he began his professional career in Bristol. On 28 February, 1811, he married Anne Maria Estlin, daughter of John Prior Estlin, a Unitarian minister, at whose house he met Coleridge and Southey. On 11 August of the same year he was elected physician to St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol, and, on 29 February,



FIG. 1. JAMES COWLES PRICHARD

Photographed from an engraving kindly lent by the Rev. Edward Cowles Prichard (great-grandson)

1814, physician to the Bristol Infirmary. Thirty-one years later, in consequence of his reputation as an alienist, he came to London as one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy, at an annual stipend of £1,500. He fell ill while visiting asylums near Salisbury in the course of his duties on 4 December, 1848, remained in Salisbury for about a fortnight and then was brought to his house in Woburn Place, Russell Square, where he died of rheumatic fever, complicated by pericarditis and suppuration in the knee joint, a hundred years ago tonight. Aged sixty-two, and still in full intellectual vigour, he was President of the Ethnological Society, the precursor of this Institute, at his death. Prichard received many distinctions during his lifetime. Among others he was an F.R.S.; an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland, the Cambridge Philosophical Society and the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh; a Member

of the Royal Irish Academy; and a Corresponding Member of the Institut de France and the French Academy of Medicine and Statistical Society, of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, the Oriental Society of America and the Ethnological Society of New York, and of the Scientific Academy of Sienna.

To turn now to Prichard's works. As far as I am aware there is no complete bibliography extant, but apart from his professional writings and those on his avocations, anthropology, ethnology, linguistics and Egyptology, to which I shall return, he is responsible for a joint translation with Tothill of the Swiss historian Johannes von Müller's *Vierundzwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichte*, a rendering into English verse of the *Birds of Aristophanes*, and essays on such diverse topics as the *Mithridates*, oder *allegemeine Sprachkunde* of the German philologist Johann Christoph Adelung; one of the earliest known specimens of Hebrew literature, the so-called 'Song of Deborah' (Judges v), the heroine of Israel in its defeat of the Canaanites under Sisera; Snowdon; the Mosaic cosmogony; Isis and Osiris; the Zodiac; universities; and August Wilhelm von Schlegel, who had translated into German the first edition of Prichard's *An Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology; to which is subjoined a Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology* (1819, revised 1838), acknowledging in a preface the author's erudition but challenging the validity of his comparison of the religious and political systems of Egypt with Brahmanism.

In the words of Hodgkin's obituary notice of Prichard, he was 'no mere Egyptologist. He took his stand upon a higher and broader ground, and treated the subject of Egyptian history as a branch of general Ethnology—a chapter in the great book of the universal history of mankind.' Prichard has pointed out that the annalist Manetho's dynastic tables were based, possibly in error, on the combination of several different lists of kings, which, while seeming to be successive, were in fact repetitions of the same series of names. Baron Bunsen described him as 'one of the most acute and learned investigators of his time' and praised his suggested collation of the *Chronographia* of Eratosthenes and the fragments of Manetho as 'the only true method of elucidating the earliest period' of Egypt's past. He was therefore a pioneer before Young and Champollion had begun to publish their results and thus to lay the foundations of scientific Egyptology. *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, which was prepared for press and announced as a supplement to the first edition of the *Researches* (1813), but did not appear until 1831—it was reprinted under the editorship of Latham in 1857—first showed the relationship between Celtic dialects and Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and the Teutonic languages. As Tylor observed, it is remarkable that Pictet's essay on the affinities of Celtic and Sanskrit, 'which was crowned by the French Academy and made its author's reputation, should have been published in 1837 in evident ignorance of the earlier and in some respects stricter investigations of Prichard' (*Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., Vol. XIX, 1885).

Of Prichard's anticipation of Weismannism and other post-Darwinian, and also Darwinian, views on evolution, put forward in the second edition of the *Researches* (1826) but strangely omitted from the third, I shall leave Professor Osman Hill to speak in his appreciation of him as an anthropologist. Nor is my time sufficient for more than a passing reference to his philosophical book, *A Review of the Doctrine of a Vital Principle* (1829), including a lengthy section on materialism in which Joseph Priestley's ideas on the consubstantiality of the phenomena of matter and spirit are attacked. Prichard was undeniably the foremost alienist of his day. The experience he gained in the mental wards of St. Peter's led directly to his *Treatise on the Diseases of the Nervous System*, Part I, comprising Convulsive and Manical Affections—no more

appeared—(1822), and *Treatise on Insanity and other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (1835). The first of these works was based on his observations on patients at St. Peter's and was subsequently translated into German. The second, an expansion of an article he had contributed with four others to *The Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine* (edited by John Forbes, Alexander Tweedie and John Conolly, 4 vols., 1833–35), contains his postulate of 'moral insanity,' which he defines as a disorder of the feelings and affections, or what are termed the moral powers, in contradistinction to those of the understanding or intellect. This received the approbation of Herbert Spencer, and Tuke remarks of it that 'Prichard's sagacity laid, it may be said, the foundation stone of modern criminal anthropology.' Prichard, then, was one of the earliest to regard the delinquent as a psychopathic case. The essence of his labours in this field is to be found in a small popular volume *On the different Forms of Insanity in relation to Jurisprudence* (1842). A purely medical work is his *History of the Epidemic Fever which prevailed in Bristol during the Years 1817, 1818 and 1819* (1820).

Prichard's principal contributions to anthropology comprise two works, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, the expansion of his doctoral thesis, and *The Natural History of Man*, together with *Six Ethnographical Maps*, illustrative of them. The *Researches*, dedicated to Blumenbach, whose racial classification he adopted, appeared as a single volume in 1813. A second edition in two volumes was published in 1826, a third in five between 1836 and 1847, and Vol. I of the fourth in 1851. *The Natural History*, dedicated to Bunsen, ran like its predecessor into four editions, 1843 (translated into French), 1845, 1848 (enlarged) and 1855 (two volumes, edited by Edwin Norris). There were two editions of the *Ethnographical Maps*, 1843 and 1861.

At the Ninth Meeting of the British Association, held in Birmingham in 1839, Prichard read a paper 'On the Extinction of the Human Races' and made an appeal for funds on behalf of the Aborigines' Protection Society, which realized £5. A Committee, on which he served, was appointed by the Association to prepare, and print for this amount, 'a set of queries to be addressed to those who may travel or reside in parts of the globe inhabited by the threatened races.' The list—some seven pages published in *Rep. Brit. Ass.* (Plymouth), 1841—is the parent of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* as the Aborigines' Protection Society is of our Institute. At the Anniversary Meeting of the Ethnological Society on 22 June, 1847, exactly eighteen months before his death, Prichard, its President, spoke 'On the relations of Ethnology to other Branches of Knowledge,' and repeated this, changed in words but the same in content, at the Seventeenth (Oxford) Meeting of the British Association a few days later. The last notes of his swan song, more feelingly, I think, expressed in London than at Oxford, contain the credo of that uncompromising monogenist whose memory we are here to honour, and most of us—Professor Osman Hill is a notable exception—would as unquestionably subscribe to it at this moment: '... the farther we examine the various paths of inquiry which lie open to our researches, the greater reason do we find for believing that no insurmountable line of separation exists between the now diversified races of men; and the greater probability, judging alone from such data as we possess, that all mankind are descended from one family.'

I am indebted to my friend and former tutor, Mr. T. K. Penniman, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, for the loan of publications and for verbal information relating to Prichard, a member of his own College, Trinity, with whom he has dealt at length in *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (1935). I am also grateful to one of Prichard's great-granddaughters, Miss Mary A. Prichard of Bexhill-on-Sea, for lending me her

copy of the privately printed *Memorials of the Prichards of Abney and their Descendants*, compiled by Isabel Southall (second edition, 1901), which contains genealogical particulars not available elsewhere; and to a great-grandson, the Rev. E. C. Prichard, of Gloucester, for answering questions about his distinguished ancestor.

Prichard as an Anthropologist. *A communication to the Prichard Centenary Meeting, 22 December, 1948, by Professor W. C. Osman Hill, Department of Anatomy, University of Edinburgh*

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In assessing the value of Prichard's contribution to physical anthropology, it is necessary, in the first place, to take account of his educational background and especially the academic atmosphere in which he was trained.

Brought up, as he was, in a deeply religious domestic atmosphere as a member of the Society of Friends, it is natural to assume that his philosophical bias was coloured by his belief in the supreme position of man in the organic world, in his innate goodness and in the unity of the human race, and its apartness from the rest of the animal world. It has been said, though there is little evidence for it, that at the commencement of his career he made a promise to his father that in whatever he published upon his anthropological inquiries, he would strictly refrain from any statement contrary to the religious beliefs in which he had been trained. There is, indeed, little, if anything, in his writings to indicate that he ever wittingly betrayed his trust in this connexion.

It seems clear that Prichard was, from the first, interested in anthropological matters and especially in the diversity of human types inhabiting the world. His father's residence in the important seaport of Bristol supplied young Prichard with ample opportunity for the study of living examples of many different races, and his investigations were considerably assisted by his wide knowledge of languages.

Prichard seems to have chosen medicine as a profession for the chief reason that it was considered the best portal for increasing his opportunities for and proficiency in the anthropological sciences, though undoubtedly, as may be judged from his eventual attainments in the medical world, his altruistic feelings towards the sufferings of his fellow men also urged him.

After the usual preliminary apprenticeship of that period to medical practitioners of his own religious persuasion in Bristol and at Staines (1802) Prichard commenced his academic studies at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, where he studied anatomy, presumably under the famous Astley Cooper, who was teaching the subject in that school from 1800 to 1830. He would here undoubtedly obtain a very sound factual knowledge of the human body, and that this influenced his later work is witnessed by his understanding of the skull and other parts of the skeleton, as well as his references to the microscopical anatomy of the skin and hair.

From St. Thomas's in 1806 he proceeded to Edinburgh University, where he apparently spent two years before graduating M.D. in 1808. He here evidently continued his anatomical studies, for his name appears in the list of students attending the class in anatomy and surgery during 1807. He would therefore undoubtedly be influenced by both *Monro secundus* and *tertius*, for the former, though relinquishing the chair of anatomy to his son in 1798, continued to lecture until 1808, the year of Prichard's graduation. *Monro tertius* did not conduct the class till 1802 and had the reputation of being a dull lecturer. It became the custom of students to pay the necessary fees for attendance at *Monro tertius's* lectures, but to obtain their tuition from the more profitable extra-mural courses delivered by surgeons and anatomists. In Prichard's time the most celebrated of these was John Barclay, who took over from Charles Bell in 1804. It is unlikely, in view of

his anthropological interests, that Prichard would have missed the opportunity of attending Barclay's lectures in comparative anatomy, a subject in which the lecturer became famous, having become the recipient of the mantle of *Monro secundus*. Prichard appears to have been in Edinburgh too early to have been affected by that still more dynamic character and extra-mural teacher, Robert Knox, though they may have met as students, both having anthropological interests.

It is significant of Prichard's trend of thought during his studentship that his graduation thesis was entitled *De generis humani varietate*. This thesis was the foundation of his later work, forming indeed the framework of his *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (1813) and in turn of his *Natural History of Man* (1842).

Besides his teachers, Prichard's access to relevant literature of the time must be taken into account. For a general purview of nature no doubt Buffon was his chief source of information; but almost certainly he was aware of the enlightening experiments of John Hunter, whose views on the effects of domestication without doubt influenced him. His attitude to polygenists suggests his acquaintance with the doctrines of Bory de St. Vincent and the leading French anthropologists of the period; whilst the great treatise of Blumenbach, his chief rival, was hardly likely to have escaped his attention.

Apart from his background, in judging Prichard's merits as an anthropologist, it is but fair to take cognizance of the advances that have been made since his time; for we must assess his position in the light of what he could not possibly have been acquainted with on the standards of the attainments of his time. Five important developments deserve reference in the present connexion, namely: (i) Darwinism; (ii) Mendelism and the laws of genetics in general; (iii) hormones, more especially their effect in reference to pigmentation and growth (Keith's hypothesis); (iv) Bolk's hypothesis regarding 'fetalization'; and (v) the discovery of fossil man and the criteria of prehistory generally.

Darwin did not become a student in Edinburgh until 1825—seventeen years after Prichard had graduated. He spent another four years (1828–1831) in Cambridge after leaving Edinburgh and thereafter was away on his *Beagle* expedition until 1836. Although premonitory signs of the idea of the transmutation of organic species were undoubtedly in the air, notably in the teachings of Goethe (1790), Lamarck (1809) and his friend Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1828), these could scarcely have been sufficient to influence Prichard in favour of the idea as applicable to humanity; more especially in view of his predilection, like most other ethnologists of the period, in favour of the 'unity' of mankind.

Mendel's work was, as is now well known, quite lost sight of even by Darwin, and was not rediscovered until the commencement of the present century, during which the science of genetics may be said to have developed. Clear-cut as much of this seems today, it is hard to appreciate the difficulties besetting men like Prichard in attempting to explain, without its aid, the diversification of human types from a homogeneous ancestral group.

This last statement applies with almost equal force to the next two hypotheses in our list, namely those of Keith and Bolk, for these have been of immense help in providing a mechanism for the evolutionary emergence of the more specialized branches of recent mankind.

That man existed as contemporary in England with extinct mammals like the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros and sabre-toothed tiger had been proved as early as 1825–29 by MacEnery's researches on the fossils of Kent's Cavern, which were presumably known to Prichard. But no fossil Hominidae differing specifically or generically from existing man were then known and the existence of what would then have been termed Antediluvian Man was generally denied. Domination of the scientific panorama

by the Catastrophic Theory of the great Cuvier was the order of the day and dissentients like Lamarck and Geoffroy were completely overshadowed by his personality. Prichard's narrow field compared with our own can thus be justly appreciated.

In spite of all these drawbacks, Prichard forged a high position for himself in anthropology by virtue of his contributions to the more philosophic aspects of the science. In fact, all the more credit is due to him—credit indeed which the scientific world has been tardy in giving, largely no doubt, as Cunningham (1908) has remarked, on account of his being overshadowed by his German contemporary Blumenbach. Even Cunningham failed to appreciate the fact to which Poulton had, in 1897, drawn attention, namely the remarkable anticipation by Prichard of modern views on evolution, and notably the fact of non-inheritance of acquired characters. In this Prichard foreshadowed the views of Weismann, chiefly from his observations on domestic animals, upon which, like Darwin, he drew largely for the interpretation of variability in man. It is tantalizing, in perusing Prichard's work, to see how near he approaches to the most modern concepts of the evolutionary theory and yet misses the true explanation of the inter-relationships of diverging types and the plasticity of organic forms, their dynamic adaptation to environment and the fixing of the type so developed. Whether this failure be due to his early training, to his religious views or to a slavish acceptance of current views, it would be difficult to determine; but his high mental qualities and honesty in the exposition of observed facts would seem to refute such explanations. We are consequently inclined to infer that Prichard's tardiness in appreciating the full significance of his own observations is due perhaps rather to a native caution, combined with the fact that scientific thought had not yet quite reached the turning point which led to the flood of enlightenment that was shed by the combined efforts of Darwin and Wallace. Thus, though it is easy for us today, with the advantages of so many additional facts at our disposal, to minimize the work of Prichard, we cannot but feel, with Rolleston (1875), that 'many a weaker man than he has been enabled to bind into more readily manageable burdens the vast collections of facts with which he had to deal.'

I have to tender my acknowledgments to Professor J. C. Brash for historical data relating to Prichard's period in Edinburgh and to the University Librarian, Dr. L. W. Sharp, for access to original documents. I have to thank Mr. J. C. Trevor for drawing my attention to Poulton's contribution on Prichard and Professor D. V. Davies of St. Thomas's Hospital for certain information.

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A Further Note on J. C. Prichard. *A communication to the Prichard Centenary Meeting, 22 December, 1948, by Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., read in his absence by Mr. J. C. Trevor*

Prichard was a very distinguished thinker of the pre-Darwinian period and a man of strong sympathies, as befits a member of the Society of Friends, though he later in life parted company with them. He accepted the myths of the early chapters of *Genesis*

and gives no hint of a theory of descent of man from animal forms. He insists on sympathy with ill-treated Africans and aboriginal Australians, emphasizing the thought that they are his fellow men. The unity of mankind is a fundamental idea in Prichard's mind, and we realize in this connexion that he worked before any hominids had been discovered. He makes a special point of particulate inheritance though he cannot be said to anticipate Mendel in any way. He notes that the skin colouring of Africans is subject to wide variations and is broadly related to exposure to strong sunshine. While he recognizes that heredity plays a large part in determining an individual's skin colour, he sees in this feature also a response to climatic conditions. In his day pre-historic studies had hardly begun, and he accordingly says nothing about evidence of early prehistoric migrations, but it seems that he would not have over-emphasized the distinction between 'coloured' and 'white' as so many later writers have done. He wanted to have the term 'Negro' restricted to those people of West Africa who show certain physical characteristics. He felt that these West Africans were very different from the peoples of East and South Africa, and in this way he helped to work up modern views on the subject.

A very interesting and important idea of his is brought out in a discussion concerning skull form. Some authors writing on the apes had emphasized resemblances to mankind, and Prichard points out that they were considering young apes. 'It is well known,' he says, 'that in the immature . . . anatomical relations are, in many instances, nearer than they appear when the entire being is perfected.' There is here the germ of the idea used by evolutionists that differentiation of types is in part a resultant of differences in growth.

Another item in which he was a forerunner of a good deal of recent thought is his view that the human race was originally rather dark-skinned, and that the pale skin of the European has arisen by depigmentation. With this opinion he is able to look at the peoples on both sides of the Mediterranean and to argue that, whatever their colour differences, they are essentially of one physical type.

He was an industrious reader and thinker and must have observed types very carefully at Bristol docks. These few notes on some points in which Prichard shows himself as a forerunner of modern thought are offered as an addition to the accounts given by Mr. Trevor and Professor Hill. They come from an admirer of Prichard who regrets that absence from England prevents him from attending the gathering held to honour Prichard's centenary.

Discoveries of Ape-Men in South Africa. By Dr. Robert Broom, F.R.S. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 13 May, 1949

166 When Dart in 1925 described the skull of a young child higher primate obtained in the caves of Taungs he opened a new chapter in human palaeontology. He regarded his little child as that of a being intermediate between apes and man and thus the long looked-for 'Missing Link' now found. For a time most scientists in Europe and America opposed Dart and considered his little being, which he called *Australopithecus*, as only a variety of chimpanzee. From the first Dr. Broom regarded Dart as right in his conclusion, and one after another became converted to this view. Still, the skull was only a child skull and did not convince the world. They had thus to get an adult skull. This Dr. Broom set out to do in 1936 and within two months was successful. His discovery was the now famous Sterkfontein Skull *Plesianthropus*. In 1938 he got another variety of ape-man at Kromdraai—*Paranthropus*.

Since 1947 they have gone ahead rapidly and now know five

types of ape-men. The earlier ones had brains of between 450 and 650 c.c. and were thus sub-human. They were little beings that, as we now know, walked on their hind feet and used their hands for tools and weapons. Their teeth and bones are almost human and not anthropoid. In 1948 and 1949 some more startling discoveries had been made at Swartkrans and Makapan. At the former site there was evidence of a large ape-man with a jaw far larger than that of any man and yet with human teeth. His face is rather flat with little or no prognathism and his brain proves to be 850 or 900 c.c. and thus to be within the human range. At

Makapan another new type has been found by Dart, also with a large brain, and in some respects so human that it is difficult to decide whether to call him man or not.

It seemed very manifest, said Dr. Broom, that the South African caves are going to solve the problem of man's origin within the next year or two. It would probably be possible to give a complete history of man and the animals associated with him in South Africa for the last 3,000,000 years and to prove conclusively that he did not evolve from an anthropoid of the chimpanzee type, but from an ape which may even have been pre-anthropoid.

SHORTER NOTES

The Folk Museum. *A note on a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts on 27 April, 1949, by Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., Keeper-in-Charge of the Welsh Folk Museum. Communicated by T. W. Bagshawe, Deputy Chairman, British Ethnography Committee, Royal Anthropological Institute*

Almost simultaneously with the publication of the 'Scheme for the Development of a Museum of English Life and Traditions' by the British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute comes a paper by Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate, a member of the Committee. Dr. Peate is quite rightly regarded as a pioneer of the Folk Museum movement in the British Isles and his *Guide to the Collection of Welsh Bygones* has been the Bible of many a collector of 'Bygones.' Unfortunately the results have sometimes not been wholly desirable, leading to the adoption of names used in the *Guide* for specimens found in all parts of the British Isles, when the local names should of course have been used.

Dr. Peate has put up a noble and practically a lone front for the British Isles in a peaceful battle of material folk culture against the Scandinavians. These latter can certainly present the study of folk culture in a very palatable form, but whether they have more to present than we have in the British Isles is debatable.

In this paper we learn how the Welsh Folk Museum came into being and has flourished. We cannot do better than quote Dr. Peate's own words:

'We in Wales have been actively engaged in the collection of Welsh folk material for many years. The National Museum of Wales, which was founded in 1907, had, as its first director, Dr. Evans Hoyle, who throughout his life advocated the formation of folk museums in Britain. A later director, Sir Cyril Fox, pursued the same end with enthusiasm and ultimate success. A Department of Folk Life was set up at Cardiff in 1936 as an essential preliminary to the creation of a Welsh folk museum, and a series of reconstructions of farmhouse rooms and craft workshops set up within the museum building. The Council of the National Museum in the early nineteen-thirties and again in 1943 declared that the creation of a folk museum was one of the most urgent needs. In 1946 the Earl of Plymouth offered St. Fagans Castle and its eighteen acres of gardens and grounds to the National Museum as a centre for a Welsh folk museum. An additional tract of eighty acres of adjacent park land was also secured. The Castle is, in fact, an Elizabethan mansion built on the site of a mediæval fortress and the Welsh Folk Museum therefore begins its history with an Elizabethan "great house" and gardens and an additional eighty acres of land—a site for a folk museum unexcelled, in my opinion, in any country in Europe. Here therefore, at St. Fagans, we have the site of the first British folk museum of dimensions comparable with the great Scandinavian museums . . .

'The scheme for the Welsh Folk Museum can be explained briefly. At the centre of the site it is proposed to set up a museum block. This will have galleries for exhibiting material

illustrating all aspects of Welsh life. Here also will be housed the extensive reserve collections, already in existence and awaiting adequate housing, so that they may be made available for the use of students. The block will also include museum offices and workrooms, library and lecture-rooms as well as a public restaurant. Indeed, we hope to incorporate in it adequate facilities for holding lecture courses and summer schools, and also for the creation of an institute for research into all aspects of Welsh life and culture. It is hoped that our archives relating to every aspect of folk research will grow to such an extent that the Welsh Folk Museum will become a storehouse and a national centre for a vast catalogue of drawings, photographs and classified information relating to every aspect of Welsh life covered by the activities of the museum. I am confident that, when circumstances permit the building of this block, every care will be taken to bear in mind the needs of a modern museum and that architects and museum officials will co-operate to produce a building worthy of its purpose . . .

'The Elizabethan house and its gardens will form an exhibit illustrating the life of the Welsh nobility during the past four hundred years. The house contains a great kitchen, hall, withdrawing room, parlour, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century bedrooms, a library and a long gallery. The gardens partly enclosed by a curtain wall of the earlier mediæval castle have a mulberry grove, a small herb garden, terraces, formal gardens and a series of four fishponds set up in the eighteenth century: they illustrate excellently the spaciousness of the life of the landed classes in former times. The eighty acres of parkland have varied contours rising to a considerable elevation from which a wide prospect of the fertile Vale of Glamorgan can be seen. Here will be set up the various buildings removed from different parts of Wales, e.g. moorland and valley farms, their outbuildings containing the ploughs, harrows and carts characteristic of the older Wales and surrounded by a few small fields which can be grazed by Welsh black cattle and sheep. In connexion with such units, the Folk Museum will bring to the notice of the visitor impermanent and highly technical field crafts of a seasonal nature such as hedging and rick-thatching.

'Another feature to which considerable attention will be given will be the traditional crafts of the Welsh countryside: turnery, textiles, carpentry, smithying, pottery, etc. Typical craft workshops will be collected. In them craftsmen will produce their wares which will be available for sale to the public. The Folk Museum will therefore not only provide a reconstruction of the Welsh past but will become a centre for architectural and craft education, both visual and instructional. It is hoped that in due course apprenticeship schemes will be initiated so that youths can return to the countryside well grounded in the history of their craft and trained in modern methods of production. The Welsh Folk Museum has already on its staff a wood-turner and a basket-maker. The wood-turner demonstrates on a traditional pole-lathe and also works on a modern electrical lathe, on the principle that it is not the machine used but the product of the craftsman using his machine which conserves the tradition—in the case of wood-turnery, a tradition

reaching back to prehistoric times. It should be added that the wares of both turner and basket-maker are eagerly sought by the visiting public.

At present, the principal exhibit in the Welsh Folk Museum is the Elizabethan house and its gardens. The house, built about 1570, has been completely furnished with material from the Welsh folk collections: the hall, parlour and one bedroom with seventeenth-century material; the withdrawing room with material ranging in date down to about 1720; there is also an eighteenth-century bedroom and the kitchen contains material principally from the same century. Through the generosity of a Denbighshire donor the complete furnishings of an early nineteenth-century library in North Wales make the library a most attractive exhibit illustrating the style of the first quarter of that century. In short, the visitor is able to study in detail the life and culture of the Welsh landed classes: the fittings of their houses, fine furniture, embroidery and tapestry, and the whole domestic equipment of a mansion. Until the new museum building is erected a spacious modern room recently added to the Castle is used for the systematic exhibition of material and certain other smaller rooms are occupied as the offices and headquarters of the Museum. This occupation of an exhibit is, of course, temporary until further building developments are possible. In the same way, the wood-turner is at present housed in a building in the stable-yard to await the removal and re-erection of a typical turner's workshop. An amenity of the greatest value has been the extension and conversion of the servants' hall—a late nineteenth-century building—in the Castle into a tea room which seats about one hundred persons.

An interesting yet vital comparison between Scandinavian problems and our own is summarized in these words:

'Scandinavian houses of historical significance are principally of timber: it is therefore a comparatively easy task to pull them down and to re-erect them. In Britain, however, we have a variety of building materials and the problem of the re-erection of certain types of walling (particularly mud or rubble) will prove difficult. Once re-erected, however, the traditional houses of this island will provide in the British folk museums a variety which will prove far pleasanter to the visitor than the monotonous sameness of the Scandinavian buildings.'

The Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 168 Brussels, 1948

From a circular recently issued by the President and Secretary-General of the Congress, it is learnt that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has made funds available for the publication of the *Proceedings* of the Brussels meeting, but the available resources are not enough to permit full publication of papers, which will accordingly have to be reduced to about 700 words. Illustrations will be printed as far as funds permit. Members who read papers were requested to send their abstracts to the Secretariat, Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, Belgium, by 1 November, 1949. In cases where they have already published the full paper elsewhere, they were requested to supply all relevant bibliographical data when sending in their abstracts.

REVIEWS

ASIA

The Muria and their Ghotul. By Verrier Elwin. Bombay (Oxford Univ. Press, Indian Branch), 1947. Pp. xxix, 730, with 3 coloured plates, about 250 photographs, 146 text figures, 9 maps, glossary and appendices. Price Rs. 25.

This lavishly produced work worthily upholds its author's reputation both as a conscientious ethnographer and as a writer of exceptional aesthetic sensibility. Despite its bulk, and an occasional excess of detail, this book is easy to read and full of unexpected fascinations. The illustrations are superb.

The central theme is the social function of the *ghotul*, the young people's dormitory, among the Muria of Bastar State, Central India, but the author gives much more than simply an analysis of this one institution. In effect we have here a complete ethnographic account of the Muria orientated functionally (in the Malinowskian sense) about life in the *ghotul*. Although this presentation is logical and has clearly been most carefully thought out, the author's reluctance to omit anything of even distant relevance has led to the inclusion within the main text of a great mass of detailed material that might perhaps have been more comfortably recorded in additional appendices. For example, at the one extreme, we have 32 pages (pp. 99-131) devoted to the description of a single wedding ceremony, at the other, we have a 55-page section, Chapter 9, entitled 'The Origin of the Ghotul,' which is an essay in the classical comparative method, and which leads us from Guatemala to New Zealand in search of *ghotul* parallels without greatly advancing the observations of Peal (1893) and Hutton Webster (1908). Indeed, the unity of the different forms of 'bachelors' house' as a single institution throughout the world is probably exaggerated; the Muria *ghotul* is in any case by no means a typical example. On the theoretical side generally, the analysis is crude and old-fashioned: there is plenty about clans and phratries and totems and megaliths but not much appreciation of those problems of social structure and psychology to which most social anthropologists have lately devoted their main efforts.

The heart of the book, however, is the description of the *ghotul* itself and the sex life of its members (Chapters 10-16), and here the author achieves a very high standard of ethnographic excellence. The sex life of young Muria is promiscuous in the extreme but set within the framework of an elaborate code of culturally accepted rules. It is Elwin's remarkable achievement to describe the resulting behaviour with sympathy, intimacy and scientific detachment. If this part of the book were to appear as a supplementary volume to Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* it would be in proper company. In its own way it is masterly.

The argument of the book throughout is very fully documented both with the author's own first-hand observations and with the direct statements of informants, but in addition, in the crucial sections dealing with intimate sex behaviour, the author has made a valiant attempt to overcome the unreliability of contemporary witnesses by collecting sample data on a questionnaire basis from 2,000 informants widely dispersed throughout Muria-land. This seems to me a most interesting experiment. Social anthropologists will err if they are led to think that random sampling can serve as a substitute for detailed local study, but if the conclusions of the detailed local study can be supported by statistical data there is a clear gain in scientific detachment. The figures which Elwin cites with regard to the incidence of pregnancies (pp. 473f. and Appendix 5) form a most valuable supplement to the discussion of *ghotul* infertility which has gone before, although in themselves the figures would be of little significance.

Much of the ethnographic record of this book is exceedingly detailed (e.g. not only the music but even the steps of dances are recorded), but in the main this detail is fully justified. This is material that can probably never be recorded again. As the dust cover puts it, it is 'a memorable picture of a way of life that seems doomed to early extinction but will perhaps remain for ever young in these pages.' In its own particular field this book is likely to become a classic.

E. R. LEACH

EUROPE

Merlin's Island. By T. C. Lethbridge. London (Methuen), 1948. Pp. vi, 188, 8 plates, maps, text figures. Price 10s. 6d.

170 This refreshing book consists of a series of essays on the post-Roman period with an attractive title rather tenuously related to the subject matter. At least one reader welcomes the emphasis laid on the Celtic and Romano-British elements in our make-up. One may illustrate by mentioning Dr. Lethbridge's answer to the Continental philologist who pronounced the name of King Ceawlin as 'Che-af-lin'; Lethbridge with at any rate more justification considers it a drawled 'Colin.'

The dangers of small-scale distribution maps are illustrated from the fact that, though place-names ending in *-ing* occupy parts of the same broad area as that of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, yet on a large-scale map they are often well apart. Lethbridge suggests that perhaps the *-ing* place was merely a summing place of an Anglo-Saxon family. Perhaps this is so, but a tempting alternative is to consider it as a settlement of a very early phase before an Anglo-Saxon group was sufficiently organized to establish cemeteries. The early groups must have had to depend largely on little home-made ploughs useful only on the light soils on which the *-ing* names mostly occur. If so, the patronymic associations of the *-ing* names would lead one to picture something in a measure analogous with the *Clachan* of the west, perhaps with Anglo-Saxons and underling Britons mixed up.

Dr. Lethbridge thinks it quite possible that Celtic, perhaps even pre-Celtic, mariners made contact with the Faroes, Iceland, perhaps even Greenland and America. What a thrill there would be if some day a prehistoric object of European origin were found on or near some American shore. The Ireland-Iceland links are well known for what we may call Viking times, and they may be considered probable for a century or two earlier than the Viking raids on Britain, but beyond that we have but legend. Still, legends have a way of presaging the truth, as Schliemann and Arthur Evans so abundantly demonstrated in Mediterranean life and as H. H. Thomas surprised the world by establishing in the case of Stonehenge.

Dr. Lethbridge has stood back from his detailed studies, which are so useful, and has enjoyed painting a picture of a world of long ago, a world sadly misunderstood under the spell of the Teutonic mania of Victorian times.

H. J. FLEURE

The Gorse Glen. By Hugh Evans; translated from the Welsh by E. Morgan Humphreys. Liverpool (Hugh Evans), 1948. Pp. xi, 211, with 3 plates, figures and end maps. Price 8s. 6d.

171 When *Cwm Eithin* first appeared in 1931 it was hailed by all Welsh critics as a contribution of major importance to the literature of Welsh folk life. Two Welsh editions have already appeared; the present English version by a distinguished Welsh writer makes the work available to a much wider public.

Hugh Evans was born at Llangwm on the Denbighshire-Merioneth border in 1854. His schooling ending when he was fourteen, he became a farmworker until he left at the age of twenty-two to seek his fortune in Liverpool. There he was in turn a builder's labourer, a clogmaker's foreman and a carpenter's assistant. Having begun in his spare time to sell Welsh books, in 1896 he established his own printing business and by 1933, when the second edition of *Cwm Eithin* appeared, he had published more than three hundred books. During that period he had also established and published *Y Brython*, a Welsh weekly newspaper with a national circulation. The Brython Press, now owned and managed by his sons, is one of the most progressive and successful of Welsh publishing and printing firms.

The original of the present work (which was followed by *Y Tylwyth Teg*, 'The Fair Folk,' a book on Welsh fairies) was, as the translator writes, 'a revelation: it recreated a place and a period.' It is based not only on the author's knowledge and experience of life in a Welsh upland district but also on his 'inheritance of ancestral memories,' for he has drawn on the recollections of his grandfather, who had been a near neighbour of Jac Glan y Gors, 'author of the Jacobinical *Seren Tan Gwmmwl*.'

This work has a valuable Foreword by the translator, an Introduction and fourteen chapters. These include a survey of the background of nineteenth-century Welsh life, together with studies of The Farmers, Man and Maid, The Gentry, Cottages, Enclosures, Rural Industries, Harvest Work, Farm Work and Implements, Folk Lore and Custom, The Poor, and Religion. For those without a knowledge of the Welsh language, it is undoubtedly the best introduction to the bases of modern Welsh life and culture. It portrays clearly the oppression of Church and landlord during the 'hard times' of the nineteenth century: Hugh Evans writes from bitter experience for, as he puts it, 'I am one of the children of the oppression and I write of what I know and remember.'

It would be unfair to both Hugh Evans and to Tomás Ó Crohan to compare *The Gorse Glen* with *The Islander*, for the differences between the Welsh and Irish countryman were in some ways so great that no real comparison is possible between the highly literate Nonconformist society of the Welsh uplands and the more primitive Catholic society of Éire. And yet *The Gorse Glen* may well accomplish—through Mr. Morgan Humphreys's translation—for Welsh country life what *The Islander* (through Dr. Robin Flower) has done for the western islands of Ireland. To those who wish to begin to understand Welsh life and culture it is an essential book.

The translation is admirably done. For future editions it should be noted that the 'Yoke for Oxen' on page 129 is printed upside down and that 'Iolo Morganwg' should be so spelt.

IORWERTH C. PEATE

Fatherland: A Study of Authoritarianism in the German Family. By Bertram Schaffner. Columbia Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. Pp. xvi, 203. Price 18s.

172 The author served as psychiatrist of an American commission created in October, 1945, for the purpose of screening Germans within the United States Zone as to their suitability for positions as publishers, editors and the like. The tests included the completion of incomplete sentences framed to reveal the subjects' attitudes towards 'democratic' ideals; the Rorschach technique; and psychiatric interviews. Cognizance was taken of their political record, and they wrote essays describing their feelings during the Nazi régime and their notions as to the collective guilt of the German people. Dr. Schaffner's thesis is that the cultural traits clustering about the status of the German father account for the authoritarianism typical of German society.

The most valuable part of the book consists in the factual material of five case studies (pp. 144-195). The argument is, however, quite unconvincing. Notwithstanding an occasional inkling of obvious difficulties, the author systematically ignores them. He neither uses historical data nor does he try to examine comparable phenomena elsewhere. Was Huey Long's dictatorship the result of a Germanic father ideal in Louisiana? What about General de Gaulle's movement in France? Further, Dr. Schaffner does not seem to know that many Germans regard the tyranny of 'Main Street' as not a whit less repulsively authoritarian than he does the domestic and political life of the 'fatherland.'

ROBERT H. LOWIE

A Guide to the Cyprus Museum. By P. Dikaio, Nicosia (Cyprus Government Printing Office), 1947. Pp. 150, with frontispiece and 28 plates. Price 3s.

173 The Cyprus Museum was founded in 1882, to house antiquities which fell to the Government under the old Turkish antiquity law. The present museum was begun in 1908 as a memorial to Queen Victoria, and has since been enlarged and re-arranged with a grant in 1935 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The catalogue of 1899 has long been obsolete and out of print, and the publication of a new one, by the curator, Mr. P. Dikaio, is the more welcome. It is a handy, paper-covered volume, with a serviceable index, and illustrated by typical objects of all periods down to Roman times. Mediaeval remains are provided for in a mediaeval building in Nicosia; and the great hoard of Byzantine silver plate from Lampusa is only represented by a few pieces, most of the objects being in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

The collections are described room by room, with a concise introduction to each period and style. Principal objects are 'starred' and more fully discussed. Mr. Dikaios has made full use of the literature, which is considerable, and of his own intimate knowledge. Most of the collections are type series, carefully selected from the large accumulation of objects in store from excavations and casual finds. An attractive exhibit is the basement, containing reconstructions of typical tombs of the principal periods, excellently installed and artificially lighted, to illustrate the conditions under which the majority of the collections were found (plate XXIX); and the remarkable assemblage of routine terra cottas from Hagia Irini is exhibited as a whole (plate XV).

A characteristic of the early history of Cyprus—well illustrated in the museum's collections and in this *Guide*—is the persistence of a deep-rooted local culture under the impact of successive external influences from the neighbouring mainland regions, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine, Egypt, and farther afield from the Minoan

and Hellenic West. The earliest chalcolithic sites go back beyond 3000 B.C.; the Minoan colonization falls between 1500 and 1200 B.C.; the Hellenic contact is perceptible about 700 B.C.; but the native arts and industries flourished until the fifth and fourth centuries. Only with the annexation of Cyprus to Egypt after 300 B.C. does the island enter the cosmopolitan world and in due course the Roman Empire. Among the more copious collections are those of the Pre-Bronze Age cultures, mainly the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and of Mr. Dikaios himself; of the Copper and Bronze Age cultures, including finds from the British Museum excavations at Eukomi; the type series of pottery, glass and bronzes of later periods; and the sculpture from local sanctuaries, from the seventh century B.C. to Roman times.

Though so much has been found there is still rich opportunity for further finds. It may be hoped that before long fresh exploration may further increase the range and value of the collections, and necessitate a further expansion of the *Guide*. JOHN L. MYRES

OCEANIA

Aboriginal Men of High Degree. By A. P. Elkin. Sydney, 1945. Pp. 148. Price 10s.

174 'Men of high degree' are those who have passed through the rites of initiation reserved for medicine men and seers. The rites are very much the same all over Australia: the candidate is symbolically killed and mummified, incisions being made in his body and a pretence made of inserting quartz crystals and other life-giving substances, after which he is smeared with red ochre. Among some tribes the candidate is supposed to visit the sky; in all cases he is brought into contact with totemic heroes and the spirits of the dead. In the 'uncircumcision' area, that is in the east with strips in the extreme north and extreme west, the psychic experiences are emphasized, whereas in the circumcision area, the rest of

the continent, it is the candidate's 'death' that is stressed. Those who have passed through the rites are able to cure disease and perform such miracles as thought-reading, appearing and disappearing mysteriously, and being seen in two places at once. Professor Elkin is convinced that they genuinely believe themselves to possess such powers.

He suggests a possibility that the ritual entered Australia *via* the Cape York Peninsula, and compares the Australian phenomena with those of Tibet, pointing out a possible line of connexion *via* Bali and New Guinea, where similar phenomena occur. This very interesting book would be improved by revision, and also by more careful proof-reading; misplaced commas and quotation marks are uncomfortably numerous. RAGLAN

CORRESPONDENCE

Primitive Money: A Rejoinder. Cf. MAN, 1949, 122

175 SIR,—In his review of my *Primitive Money*, Dr. Leach criticizes the uneven value of the evidence quoted in my ethnological section. . . . I feel, however, that by quoting all my authorities I have enabled my readers to judge for themselves, and have provided specialists with an opportunity for verifying, correcting and completing my factual material. I doubt whether I could have avoided the risk of including unreliable evidence if, in accordance with Dr. Leach's implied suggestion, I had confined my material to facts provided by 'systematic field work of the present century.' I have come across much conflicting factual evidence provided by modern field ethnologists of standing, all of which cannot possibly be correct. . . .

To say that a specialist is bound to know more about his limited subject than an author trying to deal on general lines with the findings of many hundreds of specialists is merely stating the obvious. But to put it in the form of a 'guarantee' that 'any anthropological reader who studies carefully the chapter devoted to some area with which he is personally familiar will be shocked to discover the extent of both inaccuracies and omissions' is grossly over-stating the obvious. . . . For all we know Dr. Leach may have spotted hundreds of errors of commission and omission. But on the basis of his review it seems that his wholesale condemnation of my evidence is based on little more than a general prejudice against sources other than those provided by twentieth-century field ethnologists.

Furthermore, it is surely mild exaggeration to suggest that any ethnologist with personal experience in a certain area is bound to spot a large number of my supposed mistakes, considering that a very large proportion of field ethnologists have eyes but see not, as far as the monetary systems of their field of research are concerned. . . . East Grinstead, Sussex

PAUL EINZIG

Note

While feeling bound to give space for the more essential parts of Dr. Einzig's reply, the Hon. Editor wishes to point out

that authors must expect their works to be measured in MAN against the highest anthropological standards available, that vulnerability to the strictures of specialists is the classical hazard of generalists, and that the errors and omissions which are to be found in most general studies, however admirable, do not become any the more praiseworthy for being inevitable. Readers of the review—by no means ungenerous, incidentally, in its praise—will have been interested to see Dr. Leach's personal opinion of the book and will not have supposed that it is necessarily the final view of the matter, or even the corporate opinion of the Royal Anthropological Institute.—ED.

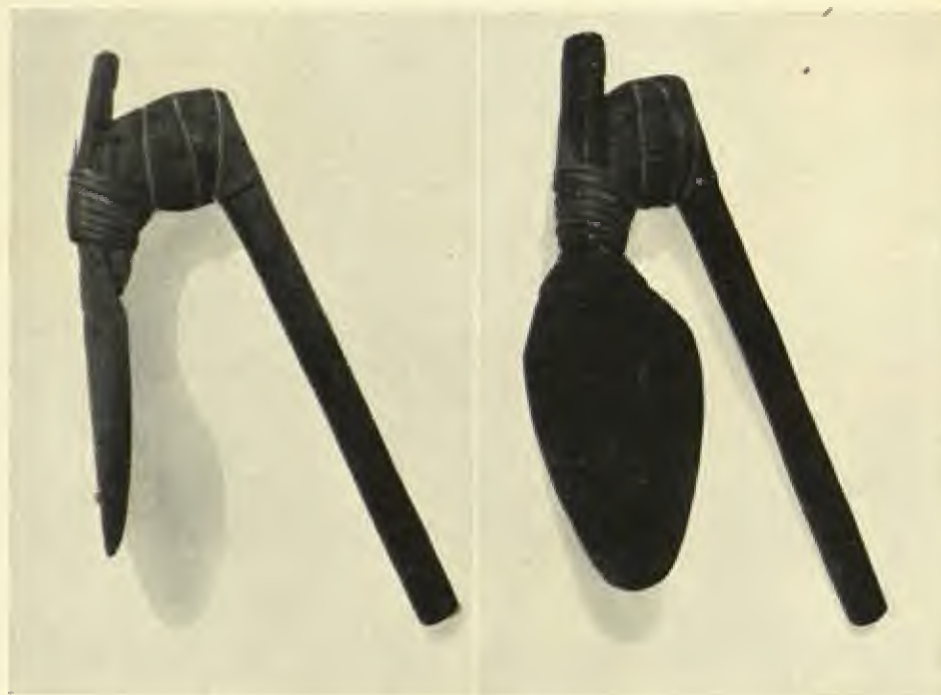
Dr. Frankfort and the Hamites. Cf. MAN, 1949, 61 and 130

176 SIR,—Seligman's theory was that in very early times Asiatic Hamites overran Egypt and Abyssinia and that in the course of time some of their descendants pushed south and east, interbred with the pre-existing Negroid tribes and imposed items of their culture upon them.

Dr. Frankfort's theory is very different. It is, or seems to be, that all the peoples of North-East and East Africa, black, white and brown, independently evolved a specifically African culture, of which the leading features were the Hamitic language, divine kingship and the cattle cult. He attempts to explain this astonishing phenomenon by saying that there is no correlation between culture and physical type. This may be so in theory, but in fact no culture complex has been known to arise or to persist except within an ethnic group.

Dr. Frankfort says that there is no force in the objection that many tribes show no trace of the Osiris cult, which he regards as characteristically African. But if the presence of an Osiris cult is evidence for the existence of a Hamitic substratum, then the absence of an Osiris cult is evidence for the non-existence of a Hamitic substratum; by reckoning the pluses and ignoring the minuses one can prove almost anything. RAGLAN





(a)



(b)

THE ANGAMI NAGA 'KEJÜ'

With blades of iron (a) and bone (b)

THE KEJÜ OR IRON HOE OF THE ANGAMI NAGAS*

by

C. R. STONOR

177 In the course of a general study of agricultural implements among the hill peoples of Assam I made enquiries concerning the *kejü*, a heavy iron hoe used by the Angami Naga tribe as their sole indigenous implement for cultivation of their wonderful terraced rice fields. This very distinctive hoe, first described by Professor Hutton (*The Angami Nagas*, 1921, p. 78), is peculiar to the Angami Nagas and is correlated with their elaborate system of irrigated cultivation. No other tribe of this region is known to possess a similar or comparable tool. It consists (Plate Oa) of a slightly concave, spoon-shaped blade with a long handle, which is lashed to one arm of a strong, crooked stick.

In view of its distinctiveness I started enquiries among the Angamis in the hope of discovering its origin. I was informed that within the memory of old people still living poorer members of the tribe had been accustomed to make the blades of their hoes out of bone. I asked to see one, and was told that they do not now exist; however, an old man from Kohima village offered to make one of the precise pattern he had seen used in his youth. The blade of this bone hoe (Plate Ob) consists simply of the scapula of a mithan or a cow with the keel pared off and the blade sharpened and trimmed. As the accompanying photograph shows, it is lashed to the arm of a crooked stick precisely as is the iron hoe used today. Comparison of the bone and iron implements suggests that the latter may very well owe its origin and design to the former. It is therefore interesting to compare the two, and to consider the form and technique of the *kejü* as used today.

The mode of attachment to the wooden haft is identical in the two types, entailing a drawing out of the iron handle to enable it to be lashed with a single tie of cane string; a form which approximates very closely to the bone handle of the scapula. Compared with the bone hoe the sides of the iron blade are much broadened, and are sloped off for efficiency in working the sticky, heavy soil: shaping of the bone blade in any way would of course be impossible owing to its brittleness.

Apart from the evidence for its derivation from the bone implement, the iron *kejü* is almost certainly an invention of the Angamis. It is therefore instructive to examine the technique of its manufacture and the factors involved in its development. As made today it consists of three parts: (i) the blade, broadened at the centre and sloped off above and below, and with a long iron handle (Plate Oa); (ii) fitted to the inside of the upper edge of the blade is a wedge-shaped piece (Fig. 1), fastened to the blade by rough iron rivets and wrapped on to the shoulders (Plate Oa); it is extended into a long narrow handle, identical with the handle of the blade proper, to which it is apposed and from which it is separated by (iii) a thick strip of metal sand-

wiched between the two. This can be seen in the photograph. The outside section of the handle (continuous with the blade) is bent over the top and overlaps the wedge-shaped piece (Fig. 1). The result of this composite construction is a very thick and massive handle. In devising it the Angami blacksmiths have clearly been concerned only with evolving a handle fastened by lashing to the wooden fork; and have further been bound by the necessity of constructing a handle and a base to the blade sufficiently strong to withstand the very considerable leverage involved in working the soil with a hoe of this

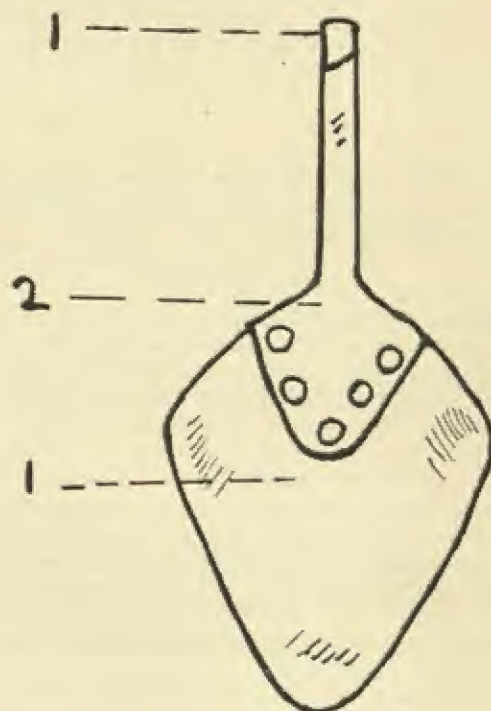


FIG. 1. THE INNER SURFACE OF THE IRON 'KEJÜ'
(1) blade and upper end of handle; (2) wedge-shaped piece

sort. A probable factor in the evolution of this massive and crudely constructed handle is also the poor and brittle quality of the iron available, and the primitive methods used in working it: compression-pump, bamboo bellows and stone hammers. I have already pointed out the lack of any other large iron hoe to act as a model in designing this type. The Angamis have a small adze hoe, which is fastened to the wooden handle by a single tang, inserted into the wood; this has evidently not influenced the development of the *kejü*. The rigid adherence to identical methods of attachment in both bone and iron versions is highly suggestive of the derivation of the one from the other. It is interesting to compare this use of the scapula as a hoe

* With Plate O and a text figure.

with that of the Hidatsa Indians of North America, by whom the bone was inserted at right angles into a straight wooden shaft (Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*, 1934, p. 254 and Fig. 84).

The mode of attachment of the blade to the *kejū* is suggestive of its ultimate origin in a simple crooked stick, such as is used to this day as a hoe by the Apa Tani and the Mishmi tribes of the Assam Himalayas. This is the more probable if the bone version is, as seems likely, the forerunner of the iron hoe; since it is hardly feasible that the Angamis ever had sufficient cattle or mithan to supply them with scapulas for their hoes, which would very quickly wear out, in sufficient numbers to fulfil their needs for cultivation. We may conjecture that a plain wooden hoe was improved by lashing on the bone, and that at some later stage, bound up with development of iron-working,

it was in its turn progressively replaced by the iron blade. The survival of the bone hoe to our own times is, presumably, a matter of economics: its recent use seems to have been among poorer Angamis who could not afford to pay for an iron blade.

The iron hoe, although essentially the same wherever found, shows a fair range of variation in size and weight in different parts of the Angami country, the variation being correlated with the types of soil in which it is used. It is to some extent being replaced by the rectangular 'Nepali' hoe used on tea-gardens adjacent to the hills. It is of some significance that the Angamis use the word *kejū* for both the bone and the iron types. I enquired if the one was derived from the other, and although my informants gave a non-committal answer they made it clear that they regarded both as the same implement.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee, Second Report: Bronze Age Metal Objects from 178 Azarbaijan, Part I

INTRODUCTION

An excavation was carried out at Geoy Tepe, near Rezaiyyeh, formerly Urmia, in Iranian Azarbaijan during 1948. Fifty-eight pieces of copper or bronze were found, some of which have been analysed. This analytical work was arranged by Mr. H. H. Coghlan, of the Newbury Museum, who is the Chairman of the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and was carried out for the Committee by Dr. Voce, Metallurgist to the Copper Development Association. Without the unflinching and most generous interest taken by these two gentlemen it is unlikely that the report given in these pages would have been available. The objects were given by the Persian Department of Antiquities to the excavator, who bears the responsibility of having allowed some of them to be sectioned for the process of examination.

The excavation provided material of many different kinds, dating from just before the al Ubaid period to the Early Iron Age. There were no significant gaps in the sequence of material obtained. Practically everything found is now in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, and it is to be hoped that full publication can be arranged.

No metal previous to the time of the al Ubaid period was found. Several pieces of al Ubaid date were obtained, however, and two of these, Nos. 1209 and 1210, were in a state which made examination profitable. This al Ubaid period is called the M Period at Geoy Tepe. The pottery found in M Period strata is not identical with al Ubaid pottery at any other site, but it is similar to, and quite possibly contemporary with, the al Ubaid fabrics of the south of Mesopotamia, as well as those of north Syria and Iraq. It is less like the early painted fabrics of the highlands of Iran. It is mostly buff ware, with decoration in black or brown, but red ware with black decoration also appeared. The stratum in which this pottery was found was three feet thick, and it is therefore not likely that the M Period lasted much longer than a single century. It can be assigned to about 3000 B.C., approximately the time of the

beginning of the Bronze Age in the Near East, and it is interesting to observe how very pure in quality was the copper then in use at Geoy Tepe. The coppers of about this time at Ur, and, in the Aegean, at Lesbos and in Macedonia, were also remarkably pure. But some of the Troy I coppers, of the same date, are said to have contained the impurities of tin, nickel and cobalt. Some of the early Dynastic coppers of Egypt, perhaps of rather later date, are also remarkably pure.

The impurities of early coppers are of some interest. The usual impurities to find in Egyptian coppers are antimony, arsenic, bismuth, manganese, nickel and tin. In Macedonia, however, the impurities of the coppers dating later than the earliest, very pure coppers, are arsenic, lead, zinc, bismuth, cobalt and nickel, and, rarely, silver. The commonest impurities in Lesbos are nickel, arsenic and lead. Discussing the Macedonian coppers, Professor Davies stated that the impurities catalogued do not occur in the ores of south Greece or of Troy, nor do they occur in later Macedonian coins, though they do occur in Transylvanian ores, in which, however, silver is constantly present.

After about the middle of the third millennium in Mesopotamia, the most frequently found impurities at Ur are tin, nickel and lead, and at Kish tin, lead, nickel and sulphur. Nickel, so very frequent an impurity, also occurs commonly as an impurity at Mohenjodaro, except in the tin bronzes there.

A little after 3000 B.C. the M Period culture at Geoy Tepe was supplanted by the K Period civilization, which is of a type well known in southern Russia. The pottery is polished grey or black, some of which is very similar in quality to the black-polished wares of Thermi I. This period was a long one, and the only objects yet analysed from its strata date from towards its close, of about 2500 B.C. They are a racquet pin, No. 1205, and a ring, No. 1201. The racquet pin is of the type of the gold pins found in the 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur. Both are of arsenical coppers.¹

Towards the close of the third millennium at Geoy Tepe life seems to have been unsettled and rather crude for a century or two. Subsequently, at the time of the Geoy Tepe D Period, a civilization of high standard, characterized by polychrome decorated pottery with Susa II and Alishar III parallels, was established, perhaps a little before 2000 B.C. A dagger (No. 1229)

of this time has been examined, and its analysis is given below as Analysis No. 10. Of this time there is also the tip of another dagger, found in a tomb, and this also has been analysed. It is No. 1212, and this is the first piece yet known of an approximately ten-per-cent. tin bronze found at Geoy Tepe.

By about the middle of the second millennium the D Period culture was supplanted by the B Period civilization, when plain polished red and black pots were made in shapes quite different from those of the D Period. Two shapes of this class of pottery, a spouted vessel and a jar, are illustrated by Professor Frankfort on page 178 of his *Studies*, Part II. One piece of metal of this period from Geoy Tepe has been analysed, No. 1436.

It is not a little remarkable that the analyses of the tin bronzes found at Geoy Tepe vary so much in the arsenic and lead contents. These impurities are very interesting, since they are characteristic of the tin bronzes of Egypt, which suddenly become common at about 2000 B.C., at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty.

It is hoped that a further selection of analyses will soon be available for publication,² and also the results of the examination of the iron objects found at Geoy Tepe. But even from the results obtained so far it seems likely that the Geoy Tepe metal objects will add to our knowledge of ancient metallurgy. It is therefore appropriate that I should express my very great gratitude to Professor Bahrami and the Department of Antiquities in Persia for the greatest kindness and readiness to co-operate, without which these objects would never have been available for Dr. Voce's examination.

T. BURTON BROWN

Notes

¹ Professor Desch stated that many Sumerian arsenical coppers have been found (in Lamb, *Thermi*), but these have not been published.

² That opportunity will be taken to discuss early bronzes from other lands which cannot, for reasons of space, be considered here.

REPORT ON SAMPLES OF COPPER AND BRONZE FROM GEOY TEPE

(i) Description of the Samples (First Consignment)

Six specimens were received for examination and analysis. They were as follows: Box 1 BB—No. 1212, fragment of blade; Box 2 BB—No. 1209, formless piece; Box 3 BB—No. 1210, formless piece; Box 4 BB—No. 1205, racquet pin; Box 5 BB—No. 1436, fragment of pin; Box 6 BB—No. 1201, small ring. All the

specimens were corroded, so severely in the case of 1212 and 1205 that little useful information could be obtained from them.

(ii) Spectrographic Analyses

The spectrographic analyses are given in the accompanying table. In considering these data it must be remembered that all the samples were more or less severely corroded and the figures, therefore, refer to the corrosion products as well as to the metal.

The elements in the first group of the table, from antimony to zinc, may be expected to have been derived from the original metal rather than from the corrosive environment. Samples 1212 and 1436 are clearly bronzes with tin contents of about 10 per cent., though the spectrograph is incapable of giving precise figures for such high concentrations. The remainder are fairly pure coppers, and the nature of the impurities suggests that they had been smelted from ores. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that the impurities were introduced during the melting of native copper. The differences in composition are sufficiently great to warrant the inference that each specimen was from a different smelting (or melting) operation, but, on the other hand, their general similarity indicates that all may have been derived from the same source of supply, with appropriate additions of tin or tin ore in the case of the two bronzes.

Iron is a prevalent impurity both in smelted copper and in corrosive environments such as the earth or sand in which the specimens may have been buried. Little can therefore be deduced from the figures for this element, though the relatively low iron content of 1209 and 1201 suggests that much of the excess iron found in the remaining samples was derived from external sources.

Similar remarks apply to aluminium, magnesium and silicon, which may, to some extent at least, have been introduced from the environment in which the specimens remained for so many years.

The presence of phosphorus in all the samples is almost certainly attributable to the corrosive environment, as it is most unlikely that this element was introduced either deliberately or accidentally into the molten metal. If such had been the case, the coppers would have shown signs of being deoxidized, whereas those which could be examined metallographically were of the tough pitch type containing particles of cuprous oxide. This needs qualification in the case of the bronzes: 1212 was too corroded for examination, but 1436 appeared to be deoxidized, and phosphorus was the chief deoxidizing agent revealed by the spectrographic analysis.

SPECTROGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF SAMPLES FROM GEOY TEPE. (FIRST CONSIGNMENT)

Catalogue No.	1212	1209	1210	1205	1436	1201
Percentage of:						
Antimony	~0.03	0.1	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03
Arsenic	~0.2	0.02	0.005	~0.2	0.05	~1
Bismuth	0.0005	0.0005	0.002	0.002	0.0005	0.0005
Lead	~0.1	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01
Manganese	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Nickel	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.002	p~0.3	0.003
Silver	~0.01	~0.01	~0.01	~0.01	~0.01	~0.01
Tin	~10	0.0005	0.001	0.03	~10	0.0005
Tellurium	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Zinc	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.005	n.d.	n.d.
Iron	>0.05	0.05	>0.05	>0.05	>0.05	0.001
Aluminium	p~0.5		p~0.5	p~0.1	p~0.1	
Magnesium	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Silicon	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Phosphorus	~0.5	~0.1	~0.5	~0.1	~0.1	~0.1
	p~0.05	p~0.05	p~0.05	p~1	p~0.05	p~0.05

p=probably

n.d.=not detected

~=about

>=more than

<=less than

(iii) *Examination of the Individual Specimens*

No. 1212. This sample consists of a small piece of a blade so deeply corroded that no unchanged metal remained for metallographic examination. If the analytical figure for tin is to be trusted (and spectrographic analysis is not reliable for high concentrations) the material is a tin bronze of a type which would be difficult to hammer out into a thin blade without a homogenizing heat treatment to absorb the tin-rich phase into solid solution. Moreover, so impure a bronze would probably crack if hammered while hot. It is likely, therefore, that the blade was fabricated from a small casting by heating to redness for a considerable time, cooling and hammering to shape, though hot hammering may have been attempted.

No. 1209. This appeared to be a small spilling or splashing of metal, but may have been the remains of a severely corroded article. Metallographic examination was attempted, but corrosion was so severe that only a few minute flecks of unchanged metal were found, and no useful information could be deduced from them. There was some indication, however, that the structure was similar to that of 1210, which it resembled in composition.

From the spectrographic analysis, the material was essentially copper, and by modern standards the presence of phosphorus would indicate that it was of the deoxidized type. It is probable, however, that the phosphorus was derived from the corrosive environment, e.g. from the soil in which the object had been buried, and was not a constituent of the metal itself.

The corrosion products consisted of cuprous oxide and green and white crystalline salts, together with a darker constituent which may have been cupric oxide or contaminated cuprous oxide. There is nothing unusual in these, but the corrosion had a somewhat cellular pattern and may have attacked the interior of the crystal grains prior to their boundaries. The latter appeared to be outlined with cuprous oxide.

No. 1210. This was a sample similar to 1209. It had no distinctive shape. Though it was severely corroded, sufficient metal remained for micrographic examination. The structure was typical of a tough-pitch copper which had solidified and cooled from the molten condition sufficiently slowly to cause spheroidization of the copper—cuprous-oxide eutectic. It must be inferred, therefore, that the apparent phosphorus content is the result of corrosion, since a concentration of about 0.05 per cent. of phosphorus in the melt would be likely to yield a deoxidized material, unless the melting conditions were very different from those of modern practice. There was no evidence of coring, and this proves either the substantial absence of elements in solid solution or sufficiently slow cooling to give homogenization. From the analysis there is little beyond iron and silicon which might lead to coring, and these two elements, if not derived from the corrosive environment, were probably in combination as an iron silicate slag. Particles of slaggy material were visible interspersed with the cuprous oxide globules. There was also considerable porosity.

The sample may have been a casting, but was more probably a pool of molten copper which had cooled fairly slowly in or under a furnace, under conditions which restricted the access of air so that the resultant oxygen content was comparable with that of a modern tough-pitch copper. It may have been the direct product of a primitive smelting process.

No. 1205. Although this sample was cut completely through in several directions, no metal could be found for examination. However, the form of the corrosion products indicated that the article had been made from a piece of triangular sheet by rolling one edge into a tube. In fact the construction resembled that of a modern hinge.

Before corrosion the material was evidently a fairly pure copper. The high phosphorus content coupled with the fact that

the sample consisted entirely of corrosion products supports the view that the phosphorus found in all the samples was derived from the corrosive environment and was not originally present in the metal.

No. 1436. The basic structure was that of a single-phase annealed solid solution consisting of equi-axial twinned crystals of fairly small size. Such a structure could be obtained in a ten-per-cent. tin bronze by thorough homogenization at a moderately elevated temperature, but it seems probable that the tin content was actually considerably lower than that indicated by the spectrograph, which does not discriminate accurately between high tin contents. While there was some indication of striation of impurities, etc., parallel to the length of the pin, the material appeared to be in the fully annealed condition. It was probably fabricated by homogenizing at red heat and hammering or drawing to give the elongated shape, either while hot or more credibly after cooling. The annealing and deformation processes may have alternated several times, but the final stage appears to have been an anneal. It should be mentioned, however, that annealed structures are prevalent in ancient objects, and it is conceivable, therefore, that they recrystallize slowly at ordinary temperatures during the prolonged time for which they have been in existence. For this reason it is not impossible that the pin was put into service in the cold-worked condition in order to take advantage of the increased strength and hardness thereby attained.

An outstanding feature of the specimen was the degree to which it had suffered severe penetrative intercrystalline corrosion and cracking. This had attacked not only the grain boundaries but also the crystallographic planes, including twin bands and slip bands (fig. 1).

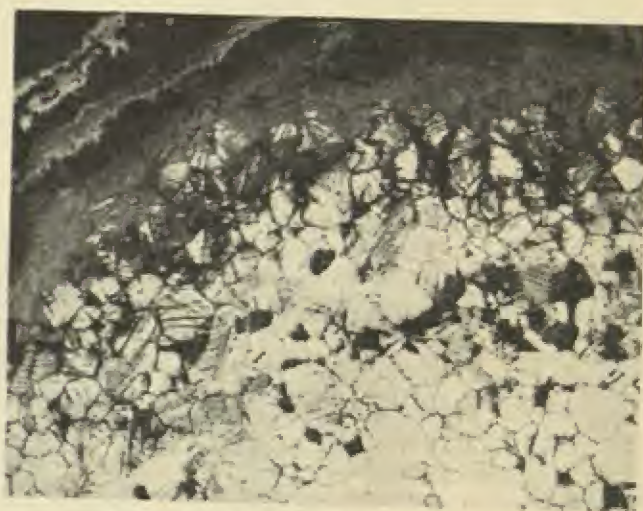


FIG. 1. BRONZE PIN (NO. 1436) $\times 100$

No. 1201. Fig. 2 shows that the structure is comparable with that of a fully annealed modern tough-pitch (arsenical) copper of good quality. The uniform distribution of the cuprous oxide globules and lack of any discernible eutectic pattern among them indicates that considerable hot work had been applied in the early stages of fabrication, just as in modern practice. Weight is added to this deduction by the fact that *cast* tough-pitch copper is not easy to fabricate while cold. It is possible, however, that cold-working operations with intermediate anneals were used in the later stages of fabrication. The final treatment would appear from the structure to have been a thorough and uniform anneal, but, as mentioned in connexion with the previous specimen, recrystallization and even grain growth may have occurred at ordinary temperatures in the prolonged time available.

Corrosion was much less penetrative than in the previous (bronze) specimen. Some cracking had occurred, and this was mainly transcrystalline in character.



FIG. 2. SMALL RING (NO. 1201) $\times 100$

(iv) *Second Consignment: Analysis No. 10*

This piece is the dagger from Geoy Tepe, catalogue No. 1229. The analysis shows it to be an arsenical copper containing tin and iron. The matrix consists of a wrought homogeneous solid solution containing the arsenic and tin. The crystals are fairly large, twinned and equi-axial, but show some distortion due to cold work. This may have arisen through continuing a hot-forging operation at temperatures too low to cause recrystallization. The metal is remarkably clean and free from defects, but contains numerous particles of a blue constituent, which might possibly be iron but which is more probably cuprous sulphide remaining in the metal from the imperfect smelting of a pyritic copper ore. This view is supported by the fact that the particles are distinctly more resistant to the fairly severe corrosion which has taken place than is the matrix. Particles of iron or an iron-rich phase, on the other hand, would almost certainly have been more severely attacked by the corrosive environment than the copper-rich matrix. The particles, discernible in fig. 3, are elongated in shape and show that the

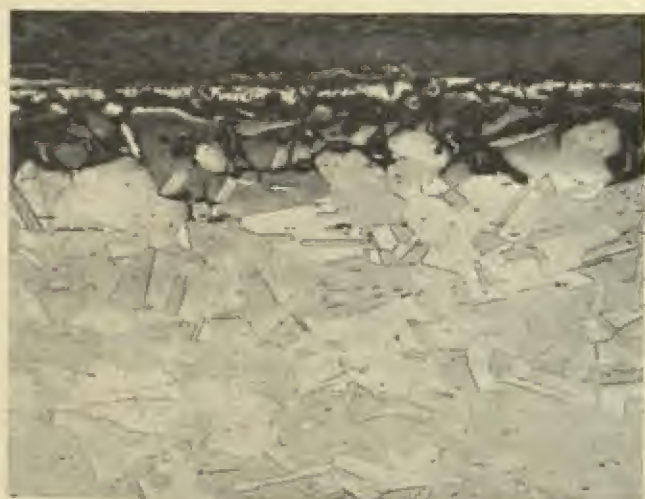


FIG. 3. DAGGER (NO. 1229) $\times 100$

article was fabricated by the lengthwise forging of a piece of metal. The forging operation was probably conducted hot, since the inclusions were clearly plastic while the metal was being forged. The absence of any trace of reprecipitated iron suggests that cooling from the hot working temperature was fairly rapid, and indicates that the metal had not been quenched from a relatively high temperature and annealed at a lower one after cold working.

DAGGER FROM GEOY TEPE (ANALYSIS NO. 10)

	per cent.
Tin	~ 0.5
Antimony	0.05
Arsenic	~ 0.3
Bismuth	0.0006
Cobalt	0.005
Iron	0.1
Lead	0.03
Phosphorus	n.d.
Silicon	0.03
Manganese	n.d.
Nickel	0.03
Silver	~ 0.01
Zinc	n.d.
Tellurium	~ 0.005
Aluminium	n.d.

~ = probably about
n.d. = not detected

Extra cold deformation in the neighbourhood of the rivet hole indicates that this was punched when the metal was cold. Little information could be obtained regarding the nature of the rivets themselves; they do not seem to be metallic but of some fibrous substance like horn or bone (the more perfect of the two rivets has been left untouched for examination by a specialist in non-metallic substances).

Considerable corrosion had penetrated along the grain boundaries, with ramifications along the crystallographic planes. Such corrosive penetration along crystallographic planes seems to be a feature of the slow decay of ancient objects containing tin in solid solution, and may perhaps be associated with the known tendency for the α copper-tin solid solution to develop conspicuous slip bands when lightly deformed. As already mentioned, the blue inclusions were less severely attacked than the matrix.

E. VOCE

179 Anthropology and Colonial Affairs. Summary of contributions by Professors E. E. Evans-Pritchard and R. Firth to a special Public Meeting of the Institute, 5 July, 1949

Opening the discussion, Professor Evans-Pritchard said that Anthropology as a serious study really began in 1843 with the foundation of the Ethnological Society, the parent of the present Royal Anthropological Institute. As a university and research subject it is much younger, though after long and shameful neglect by the British people and Government it is now realized that it is impossible to govern colonial peoples without knowledge of their ways of life. Yet the British as individuals, in spite of difficulty and discouragement, have collected a mass of such knowledge, which is centred in and diffused from the Institute. The vital importance of anthropology is now recognized; new university departments are being started, though there is a dearth of qualified teachers, and the Colonial Office is encouraging research. The rôle of the Institute remains, however, of first importance, since with its Library, meetings and publications it integrates all branches of anthropology, and maintains liaison between all bodies and individuals, national or international, concerned with the subject.

It also encourages research in the field by its Horniman Studentships. The Institute needs further support, for all this is done without subsidy, and while its membership is rising (it is now 850) it should be much higher. Field research is urgent, as indigenous societies are being rapidly transformed under contact with and pressure from other cultures, and if they are not recorded now the chance will be lost for ever. Time is short, but there is still time if we act now.

Professor Firth, who was the first Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, said that before the war colonial governments were only slightly interested in anthropological research, but recently the increasing pressure of their social and economic problems had led them to seek a wide range of information on topics which concern anthropologists. In the British colonial sphere this has meant new machinery for research, including a special body, the Colonial Social Science Research Council, on which anthropology is represented side by side with the other social sciences.

Social anthropology is benefiting a great deal in some ways by its new relation to colonial affairs. New avenues have opened up for field research. The shortage of experienced research workers has led to the creation of a studentship training scheme, in which selected graduates are given from six months to a year's special anthropological instruction at a British university with the support of Government funds. Some American as well as British anthropologists are being enlisted under this scheme. The greatest value to anthropology, however, lies in the increase of scientific knowledge that will come from the new investigations undertaken. Apart from visits of observation, made primarily for planning purposes, by senior anthropologists to East Africa, West Africa and South-east Asia, more than 20 major projects of anthropological field research have been sponsored by the Colonial Social Science Research Council alone so far. Two beneficiaries from the new colonial research funds have been the International African Institute (enabled to undertake the Ethnographic Survey of Africa) and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Anthropology is also expected to play an important part in the programmes of three new social and economic research institutes in process of establishment by the Colonial Office in East Africa, West Africa and the West Indies.

These and other developments have brought complications. Shortage of equipment and field amenities has often made conditions difficult for research workers. Scarcity of adequately trained anthropologists has hindered investigation of many problems of major importance. But most serious have been the issues of general policy raised for a science of which the objectives are still in process of definition.

Much of the contemporary anthropological research is supported by Government funds. While administrators are increas-

ingly aware of the need for scientific information on the social structure, social organization and social values of the peasant people of the colonies, for instance, they sometimes appear to think that the research carried out on them is not closely enough linked with the immediate ends of administration. On the other hand, in some academic circles, there is a fear lest the colonial tail wag the anthropological dog—lest basic scientific problems be overlooked in favour of those of more pressing practical interest. Several points need to be made here. The first is that while much anthropological research, even when apparently remote, can be of practical value, both governments and the public need to be clearer as to what the true scope and contribution of anthropological studies are, so that more shall not be expected than the science can give. The second is that some division of function between government anthropologists and those working in collaboration with but not in the service of governments may ease the position. The government anthropologist has the benefit of continuity in his relations with the problems to be studied, and knowledge of administrative requirements, and so is in the best situation to meet administrative research requirements. On the other hand, governments must realize that even a government anthropologist will often be able to contribute on a practical issue only if he can first put in a great deal of basic investigation of the general principles of the structure and organization of the society concerned. The third point is that at every stage facilities must be available for fundamental research on problems of no apparent direct interest to governments, in order that theoretical concepts on which the science depends may be refined and research workers may improve their technique.

It will be agreed that, scientifically, colonial affairs as such can have only limited interest for anthropologists. Most of us are interested in understanding social process, not directing it. But while in the ordinary ethnographic sphere research material overlaps colonial boundaries, a colonial system is significant in presenting the social scientist with a special type of social order, in which external political dominance and ethnic sectionalization are marked features. But colonial societies are in rapid change. There is no lack of bold experiment to build up a system which will combine political democracy with enough administrative and economic firmness to allow competence to be a proper seat for power. The social changes occurring from this and from the general processes of Westernization are quite legitimate subjects for anthropological investigation. As economists have shown, the fact that governments are interested in a field of inquiry does not impair its significance for scientific study. The changing patterns of contemporary colonial society are then a challenge and a stimulus to theoretical anthropology, which can benefit from the study of them, quite apart from the information which may accrue to governments from such research.

SHORTER NOTES

The 112th Annual Meeting of the British Association, Newcastle upon Tyne. *A summary by B. A. L. Cranstone, British Museum*

180 The 112th Annual Meeting of the British Association was held at Newcastle upon Tyne from 31 August to 7 September last. As far as Section H (Archaeology and Anthropology) was concerned, the meeting was successful and well attended. There were four section excursions. The first, to the Wall and Chesters, was preceded by a paper by Dr. I. A. Richmond on 'The Tactics of Hadrian's Wall' in which he suggested that the wall was not intended to be used as a fighting platform,

but that it was a firm base from which cavalry, having concentrated behind its cover, could sally out to round up parties of raiders. The purpose of the ditch was to prevent such parties, when closely pursued, from making a last stand with their backs to the wall. Miss N. Newbigin introduced the second excursion, to the hill forts and carved stones of the Rothbury district, with a paper on 'Northumbrian Rock Carvings'; she described the differing styles of the two main groups, near Wooler and Rothbury, and discussed their possible cultural affinities and dating. The other excursions were to the Northumbrian castles and to Durham.

The presidential address by Mr. M. C. Burkitt was a plea for

further teaching of archaeology and prehistory in schools, both for their intrinsic interest and their value as disciplines. English prehistory was also represented by Major E. R. Collins' paper, dealing with the evidence for the occurrence of Lower Palaeolithic implements in northern England; and by that of Mr. A. L. Armstrong, describing the excavation of a cave and rock shelter of Creswellian period near Whitwell and the discovery at Whaley (No. 2) cave of miscellaneous animal and human bones in an association that suggested cannibalism.

Dr. K. P. Oakley then gave a short account of 'Further Applications of the Fluorine Test', for determining the relative age of bones from the same deposit. After explaining the chemical basis of the method and the technique used he described some results: he does not believe the Piltdown remains to be of Lower Pleistocene age, but the cranium and mandible show the same fluorine percentage; and the Swanscombe skull is apparently the earliest human relic yet discovered in Britain. Dr. Oakley's results will shortly be published in the *Bulletin* of the British Museum (Natural History).

There were few specifically ethnographical papers. Mr. M. T. Fosbrook described and illustrated the rock paintings of the Kondoa District of Tanganyika and the methods being used to preserve them from deterioration, whether from natural or from human causes. Mr. A. J. Arkell read a paper on 'The Khartoum Neolithic,' an account of the excavation of a site on the Nile about 35 miles north of Khartoum where the culture is related to the Neolithic of the Faiyum and of Ténéré.

One session was opened by Mr. T. W. Bagshawe with 'A Plea for a Museum of English Life and Traditions.' Mr. Bagshawe, who stressed that he was expressing personal views, surveyed the present state of folk and open-air museums in this country and abroad and advocated a national museum with a large acreage of land where a main museum building would be erected, with regional villages in different parts of the park separated from one another by natural features. During discussion afterwards the idea in principle received unanimous support, but a few of the audience would have preferred several regional museums of the same type.

This paper was followed by Mr. T. Wake's 'Agricultural Bygones of the North-East,' a comprehensive and fully illustrated survey of the agricultural history of the region, its farm implements, methods, costume and traditions. Dr. A. Geddes' paper on 'The Farm Labour Team in the Southern Counties of Scotland' was read for him, as he was unable to be present; he traced the connexion between the size of the team, economic and social status, and the relations of the farmer with his farm servants, and dealt with the problem of the annual migration of farm workers.

The last day of the meeting was opened by Dr. Margaret Murray with a paper on 'The Divine King in England,' in which she traced the concept of the divine king from the pre-Christian religion of this country to the Plantagenet period, suggesting that he reigned for seven or a multiple of seven years, after which time he or a substitute had to be killed lest he should lose his life-giving power with the onset of old age. This was followed by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick on 'Dreams in Early European Literature,' showing the difference between the realistic and spontaneous character of dreams in fifth-century Latin literature and the deliberately induced mantic dreams of the Celtic and Scandinavian literature, and the affinities of the latter with those of some modern primitive peoples. Professor E. O. James in 'The Function of Religion in Society' showed that social order requires a unifying force, which is supplied by tradition and myth and the transcendental sanctions of religions, and that when a religious system of values is discarded a political ideology is likely to take its place.

Miss S. R. Burstein's paper, 'Old Age in England from Mediæval Times,' showed that the care of the impotent aged was recognized as a problem in the middle ages and that a number of solutions and palliatives were tried. The relations of aged parents with their adult children were described, with examples, and the history of the medical study of old age was discussed. Mr. D. F. Roberts in 'The Racial History of Britain' outlined the present state of knowledge, based mainly on cranial material, stated some of the problems and emphasized the amount of work still to be done.

A delegation from Section H attended a discussion, jointly with the sections of Geology, Zoology, Geography and Botany, on Field Study and Research Centres.

The International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences : Third Session, Zürich, August, 1950. *A note communicated by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A.*

Readers of MAN will remember a previous note (1948, 117) about this Congress, the accepted organ of international co-operation in prehistoric and early historic archaeology and related studies, in which it was reported that at the 1948 meeting of its Permanent Council the Hungarian representatives asked for, and by unanimous vote received, the acceptance of their Government's invitation to hold the next Session of the Congress in 1949 at Budapest. Last winter, however, this invitation was withdrawn.

It has now been officially announced that this Third Session will instead be held at Zürich from 14 to 19 August, 1950, by invitation of the Swiss Government and under the Presidency of Professor Emil Vogt. A provisional programme has already been prepared, providing for a session lasting one week, followed by excursions to (i) Basel, the Jura and Neuchâtel; (ii) St. Gallen and Wildkirchli; and (iii) Graubünden and the Valais. A fuller announcement will be published shortly.

The British members of the Permanent Council are Professors Childe and Hawkes, with Professor Piggott and Dr. J. G. D. Clark as National Secretaries. The Irish member is Professor S. P. Ó Ríordáin, and the National Secretary Dr. J. Rafferty.

Congress of the History of Religion, 1950

The first post-war Congress of the History of Religion will be held at Amsterdam from 4-9 September, 1950. During the first part of the congress the general theme, Myth and Ritual, will be discussed in the sections; the second part will be given to three papers by distinguished scholars. There will be ample opportunity for informal discussion.

Further details will be issued later. Information may be obtained from Professor E. O. James, King's College, University of London.

Association of Social Anthropologists. *Note of a meeting held on 28 and 29 September, 1949, communicated by Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard*

The summer meeting of the Association was held at the London School of Economics on 28 and 29 September. There were present: Professor Radcliffe-Brown (Chairman), Professor Evans-Pritchard, Professor Firth, Dr. Fortes, Dr. Fortune, Professor Gluckman, Professor Hutton, Dr. Kaberry, Dr. Leach, Dr. Nadel, Dr. Peristiany, Dr. Piddington, Dr. Read, Dr. Richards, Mrs. Seligman, Dr. Smith, Dr. Srinivas, Dr. Stanner. Professor Ernest Beaglehole was invited to become a member of the Association, and has accepted the invitation. The revised Register of members of the Association has been circulated, and a new edition will be brought out in 1951. A discussion, opened by Dr. Fortes, was held on 'The Teaching of Social Anthropology.' The

next meeting of the Association will take place at Cambridge on 6 and 7 January, 1950. Professor Gluckman will open a discussion.

A Catalogue of Anthropological Films

184 The Standing Committee on Social Sciences of the Scientific Film Association is hoping to compile a catalogue of all anthropological films available in the British Isles either in public or private collections. Readers of MAN who are willing to help with information are invited to write to Dr. E. R. Leach at the Royal Anthropological Institute.

The following data are required: title of film, present location, owner, approximate date, name of producer or photographer, nature of subject, whether 16- or 35-mm. film, approximate length (footage or running time), whether silent or sound, language of titling or sound track (if other than English), colour, terms of borrowing (e.g. not available, free on application, available on hire). In many cases it will be of great assistance if nothing more than the title and present location of the film is communicated so that further enquiries can be initiated. Information received will, of course, be noted also in the Institute's own file of information on anthropological films.

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AFRICA

Matmar: British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt, 1929-1931. By Guy Brunton. London (Quaritch), 1948. Pp. v, 107, and 76 plates. Price £2.

185 This is an account of two seasons' excavation of sites on the east bank of the Nile north of the area on which the author's previous work was published under the title of *Mostagedda*. Egyptologists can congratulate themselves that Brunton was able to see this volume through the press a few months before his death, although it had been delayed by various causes and finally the war. Once again all the line drawings of the plates were made by Mrs. Brunton.

The finds are described and studied by periods, in the author's well-known thorough way. From the Badarian came the most perfect specimen of Badarian pottery yet found; and further information about fishhooks. Some of the skulls are the most prognathous Badarians yet found. From the Predynastic (a grave of S.D. 38-46) came a heavy copper axehead with a high nickel content, the earliest metal tool from Egypt of any considerable size. In a female grave of the 7th-8th dynasties an obvious group of potter's tools was not recognized by the excavator (pp. 35, 51). In the Middle Kingdom section there is a discussion on the dating of amethyst ball beads. From the New Kingdom there is evidence of the previous existence of temples built by Akhenaten and Rameses II, the latter

in honour of Set, associated with which there had been a bone pit similar to those found at Qau, where fossil bones as well as worked hippopotamus ivory had been reverently buried, that animal being sacred to Set.

A large cemetery dating from 950-650 B.C. (22nd-25th Dynasties), though poor, was important because undisturbed, and provided the first large series of scarabs and plaques (over 150) which definitely belong to this period. The scarabs are the subject of a study by Alan Rowe, on which Brunton comments that he seems to share a common tendency to see kings' names on scarabs where this is not wholly justified. He clearly doubts—as I do—that the constant jumbles including the signs reading *meny* really apply to an obscure and doubtful kinglet, whose scarabs in that case would be much more plentiful than those of well-known kings of the period. Cowries also suddenly become plentiful in this cemetery, but are not worn round the waist (see MAN, 1939, 165 and 1940, 20). An iron knife or spearhead was found in this cemetery and two other early examples of iron in Egypt came from the temple site, a double-lugged axehead (comparable to one found in the Ramesseum) and a knife of hitherto unknown shape, possibly used for trimming hides.

A. J. ARKELL

CORRESPONDENCE

The Greek Race. Cf. MAN, 1948, 141 and 1949, 43

186 SIR,—Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, meditating a little ironically upon the existence of a 'Greek Race,' to which I referred in a short article in MAN recently (1948, 141), ventures us a comparison between that race and a 'Catholic' one. This reminds us of Max Müller and his suggestion that it was as absurd to talk about an imaginary 'Indo-European race' as about a 'dolichocephalous language.'

Yet, if the 'Indo-European race' is a fallacy, the 'Greek race' is undoubtedly not so, notwithstanding the current stability (as we call it) of this eternal world, and all the books indicated by Dr. Jeffreys for study. And we are not by any means chauvinists in insisting that the Greek world also should be considered as a separate 'race,' as many well-known authorities accept.

Finally, I would like to venture to make a proposal to Dr. Jeffreys, viz. to gather together, in one and the same hall, one hundred Scots (or better one hundred Russians who belong to the same Greek Catholic race), and another hundred Greeks; if Dr. Jeffreys does not at first glance distinguish the former from the latter with 95-per cent. success, I will sincerely accept that the 'Greek race' is a fallacy, like the English, the Russian or any other so-called 'race.'

J. G. KOUMARIS

Anthropological Museum, University of Athens

The Couvade as Rite de Passage. Cf. MAN, 1949, 64

187 SIR,—Mr. Ruy Coelho, in his very interesting article 'The Significance of the Couvade among the Black Caribs,' says that the function of the couvade as a rite de passage has been previously overlooked.

Perhaps I may draw attention to a paper read as long ago as 1922

for the Royal Academy of Science at Amsterdam by de Josselin de Jong, 'De Couvade,' *Med. d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, Vol. LIV (B) (1922), pp. 53-84. In this paper he pointed out that in South America, and especially among the Caribs, it was, more than elsewhere, possible to distinguish in the complex of couvade ceremonies a group of rites which were related to 'the well-known group of ritual observances, which are grouped under one head as "rites de passage" by Van Gennep, but for which the term "Crisis ceremonialism" as proposed by Miss Parsons is to be preferred' (p. 72). He continues: 'This part of the complex we recognize as a first-birth rite or in other words as a paternity rite, which without doubt belongs both essentially and in outward appearance to the category of the just mentioned crisis rites' (p. 75). 'The strong resemblance between couvade rites and puberty ritual then, which has been noted by several students (Schomburgk, W. E. Roth, Preuss, Karsten, et al.), is not so astonishing at all' (p. 73, footnote). This function of the couvade among the Caribs, which Mr. Coelho supposed had been overlooked until now, is here as explicitly stated as one can wish for.

These few quotations do not of course give a satisfactory idea of Professor de Jong's very critical, fully documented and historically oriented essay. Nor can they cast doubt on the originality of Mr. Coelho's article. The language barrier alone is to be held responsible for Mr. Coelho's mistake.

F. A. E. VAN Wouden
Universiteit van Indonesië, Batavia

Correction: MAN, 1949, 131

188 In Mr. R. Summers' letter his address should have appeared as National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo.



MAN

A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

An Examination of the So-Called 'Olokun' Head of Ife, Nigeria
(with Plates A and B and 3 text figures)

William Fagg and Leon Underwood

The Nuer Col Wic

Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Shorter Note

Man and his Works: A Review

Dr. H. S. Harrison

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- January 11. *Totemism among the Western Dinka*. R. G. Lienhardt. At 5 p.m. at the Institute.
- January 13. Special Joint Meeting with the Institute of Contemporary Arts. *Films of Australian Aboriginal Life*. At 5.30 p.m. at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Gower Street, W.C.1.
- January 18. Special Joint Meeting with the Folk-Lore Society. *A Method of Study of English Rural House Types:—Initial Investigations* (Illustrated). Professor R. A. Cordingley, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. At 5 p.m. at the Institute.
- January 25. *Social Status in Melanesia*. Ian Hogbin, M.A., Ph.D. At 5 p.m. at the Institute.

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At 5 p.m. at the Institute

February 8. *The Origins of Tool-Making.* K. P. Oakley, Ph.D., B.Sc.

February 22. *Primitive Indian Poetry.* W. G. Archer, O.B.E., M.A.

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March 15. Special Meeting. <i>The Present Status of Afro-American Studies</i> . Professor M. J. Herskovits, M.A., Ph.D.
March 22. <i>Sociological Problems of the Ground-Nut Scheme in Tanganyika</i> . Dr. W. E. H. Stanner.

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- April 5. *Social Structure of the Pokot (Suk)*. J. G. Peristiany, M.A., D.Phil.
April 26. *Family Organization in the West Indies*. Fernando Henriques, M.A., D.Phil.

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- May 10. *Human Studies in Central Borneo, 1945-49* T. Harrison.
- May 17. *Anthropological Research Work in Austria (illustrated)*. Dr. Margarete Weninger.
- May 24. *The Technique of Interviewing*. John Rickman, M.D.
- May 31. *Marriage and Divorce among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica*. E. L. Peters, B.A.

At 5 p.m. at the Royal Society

- May 13. *South Africa's Contribution to the Knowledge of the Evolution of Man (illustrated)*. R. Broom, M.D., F.R.S.

At 5 p.m. at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1

- June 1 (Wed.). *Films of Indian Aboriginal Life*. Verrier Elwin, D.Sc.
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(with Plate H and a text figure)

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(with a map)

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN JUNE

At 5 p.m. at the Institute unless otherwise stated

June 1.	Special Meeting at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. <i>Films of Aboriginal Life in Middle India</i> . Verrier Elwin, D.Sc.
June 7.	Special Meeting. <i>The Colonization of Lapland and Culture Contacts between Farmers and Nomads (illustrated)</i> . Dr. Åke Campbell.
June 14.	<i>On Piltdown Man (illustrated)</i> . A. T. Marston, L.D.S.(Edin.), F.G.S.
June 21.	Special Meeting at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. <i>The Boat in Anthropology (illustrated)</i> . G. R. C. Worcester.
June 28.	Annual General Meeting. <i>Presidential Address</i> . Professor Forde, Ph.D.
July 5.	Special Open Meeting at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. <i>Anthropology and Colonial Affairs</i> . Professor R. Firth, M.A., Ph.D., and Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D.

EXHIBITION OF TRADITIONAL ART OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

The exhibition was opened to the public at 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 21 June, following the inauguration of the Colonial Month by H.M. The King at 11.30 a.m., and thereafter will be open between the hours of 10 a.m. and 7 p.m. every day except Sundays until 20 July. Admission 6d. Each visitor to the exhibition may buy a copy of the illustrated catalogue at the reduced price of 1s. 6d.

MAN

A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

SPECIAL ISSUE IN HONOUR OF SIR JOHN MYRES

For Sir John Linton Myres on his Eightieth Birthday: 3 July, 1949

(with a portrait, Plate I)

Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S.

Two Nuer Ritual Concepts

Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Artistic House-Decoration in Riyadh

(with Plate J, in colour, and 2 text figures)

Violet Dickson

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

Shorter Notes

Reviews

Correspondence

The Law of the Jungle

Sir John Myres

Published by

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

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DEVASTATION

BY

SIR JOHN MYRES, O.B.E., M.A., D.Sc., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXIII, 1943

Price 2s. 6d.

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A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

The Netherlands West Indies
(with Plate K)
Johanna Felhoen Kraal

The Birth of a Ngoni Child
Dr. H. F. Barnes

Coordinates as a Clue to the Morphology of Human Profiles
(with 4 text figures)
R. Guley Lewis

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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(with Plate L and a text figure)
Dr. Moses Osamu Baba

The Surface Flint Implements of Cyrenaica
(with 2 text figures)
William Watson

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER

At 5 p.m. in the Institute

- September 27. Special Meeting. *Recent Developments in the Study of Personality and Culture.* Professor Ralph Linton, M.A., Ph.D.
- October 4. Special Meeting. *Senufo Art Forms and their Functions (illustrated).* Dr. Albert Maesen.
- October 11. *The Coming of Iron to the Bantu.* G. A. Wainwright.
- October 18. Special Meeting. *Les Hommes fossiles de Fontéchevade et le Problème de l'Origine de l'Homme (illustrated).* Professor H. V. Vallois.
- October 25. *The Functions of Ritual Experts in Eastern Africa.* G. W. B. Huntingford.

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(with a text figure)
H. V. V. Noone

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN NOVEMBER

At 5 p.m. at the Institute

November 8. *Evidence from Azerbaijan regarding the coming of the Indo-Europeans.* T. Burton Brown.

At 5 p.m. at University College

November 22. *Sound Film of Australian Aborigines.*

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Dr. S. Eisenstadt

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
James Cowles Prichard : Centenary Celebrations

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER

At 8 p.m. at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1

November 29. *Contemporary Maori Culture (Illustrated)*. E. Beaglehole, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.

At 5 p.m. at the Institute

December 6. *The Kinship System of Yap, West Caroline Islands, Micronesia*. D. M. Schneider.

December 13. *Army Sociology*. K. Pipping, Ph.D.

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C. R. Stonor

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN JANUARY

At 5 p.m.

January 10. At University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.

Films of the Veddahs of Ceylon. Professor W. C. Osman Hill, M.D., F.R.S.E.

January 24. At the Institute. *Culture Contact and Conflict in Jamaica.* Dr. Madeline Kerr.

EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, MAKERERE COLLEGE, UGANDA

Applications are invited for the following appointments in this newly established Institute:

Senior Linguist with specialist knowledge of at least one East African language. Salary on scale £950 × 25 to £1,050 per annum. Candidates should be prepared if possible to take up appointment in March, 1950.

Four Anthropologists: One experienced field-worker, salary £695 × 25 to £770 per annum; three junior field-workers, salary £620 × 25 to £720 per annum. Appointments to be taken up June-September, 1950.

Sociologist with practical experience in conduct of urban surveys, salary £695 × 25 to £770 per annum. Appointment to be taken up June-September, 1950.

Secretary with administrative, and, if possible, library experience. Salary according to qualifications. Appointment to be taken up in March, 1950.

All appointments are for three years in the first instance. Passages (including family) provided on appointment and on leave, which is normally taken after two years; expenses of field-workers paid; child allowance £50 per annum per child (maximum of £150). Superannuation on F.S.S.U. basis.

Applications (six copies) giving the names of three referees should be sent to the Secretary, Inter-University Council, 1 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, from whom further particulars may be obtained. Closing date 18th February, 1950.

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Periodicals added for the first time during 1948

(All these are in progress, only the first issue received being shown.)

- Brno. Société Anthropologique. *Zprávy anthropologické společnosti*. No. 1 (1947).
 Conakry. Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Centre de Guinée. *Etudes guinéennes*. No. 1 (1947).
 Florence. *Rivista di scienze preistoriche*. Vol. 1 (1946).
 's-Gravenhage. *Indonesië*. Jaargang 1 (1947).
 Helsinki. *Studia fennica*. Tome 1 (1933).
 Lima. Museo Nacional. *Revista*. Tomo xiii (1944).
 Lublin. Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze. *Prace etnologiczne*. Tom 1 (1947).
 Madrid. Comisaria General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas. *Acta arqueologica hispanica*. Vol. 1 (1943).
 — *Informes y memorias*. No. 1 (1943).
 Madrid. Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre. *Cuadernos de historia primitiva*. Año 1 (1946).
 — *Notas*. No. 1. (1947).
 Mendoza (Argentina). Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Instituto de Etnografía Americana. *Anales*. Tomo 1 (1940).
 Mexico. *Social sciences in Mexico*. Vol. 1 (1947).
 Naples. *Rivista di etnografia*. Anno 1 (1946).
 Paris. *Revue de géographie humaine et d'ethnologie*. Année 1 (1948).
 Prague. *Soupis pravěkyh památek*. Vol. 1 (1947).
 St Jean-de-Luz. Société Internationale des Études Basques. *Gernika eusko-jakintza*. Tome 1 (1947).
 Sao Paulo. Universidade. *Etnografia e Lingua tupi-guarani*. No. 8 (1945).
 Vienna. Museum für Völkerkunde. *Archiv für Völkerkunde*. Band 1 (1946).

Accessions during November 1948 (Books and Pamphlets)

It is regretted that it has been impracticable to publish book accession lists for the past two years. This has been due partly to staff changes and to the beginning of the reorganization of the Library, partly to certain exceptionally large accessions and bequests which could not have been published at length. It is felt that no attempt can now be made to discharge these arrears and that the service had best be recommenced with current accessions. All books and pamphlets (including offprints) received are included.

- Alejo Vignati, M. 'Censo óseo de paquetes funerarios de origen guaraní.' La Plata, 1941. 11 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
 — 'Descripción de los molares humanos fósiles de Miramar (Provincia de Buenos Aires).' La Plata, 1941. 271-358 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
 — 'Iconografía aborigen. 1. Los Caciques Sayeweke, Inakayal y Foyel sus Allegados.' La Plata, 1942. 13-48 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
 — 'Iconografía aborigen. 2. Casinuro y su Hijo Sam Slick.' La Plata, 1945. 225-36 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
 — 'Iconografía aborigen. 3. La Tribu del cacique Olkolckenk.' La Plata, 1946. 277-99 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
 — 'Procesos neoarticulares por doble luxación mandibular en un cráneo indígena de Huinahuaca.' La Plata, 1942. 49-59 pp. (*Revista del Museo de La Plata, sección antropología*).
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- (2) They shall be in typescript in English, French or German.
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- (4) The length of an essay shall not exceed 25,000 words or be less than 10,000 words.
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- (6) If, in any year, there shall be no essay which, in the opinion of the Council of the Institute or of the officers of the Institute appointed for the purpose under the last preceding rule, is of sufficient scientific merit to deserve the award of the prize, then no award shall be made in that year. The amount of the prize available for that year shall be retained by the Institute and added to the prize in any later year, in which there shall be at least two essays which are adjudged of sufficient scientific merit to deserve the award of the prize.
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